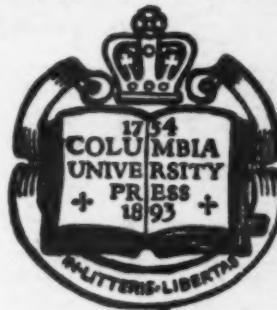


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# Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, A. HAIRE FORSTER, FRANK H. HALLOCK  
and FREDERICK C. GRANT

In Collaboration with Representative Scholars  
throughout the Church

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## THE LIFE-METHOD AND THE ONE RELIGION

By LAIRD W. SNELL, Helena, Mont.

Christianity claimed from the first to be a new life come into the world. Much of the failure in these latter days to comprehend the nature and place of the Christian religion would disappear if this claim of Christianity were treated literally and it were studied and its claims appraised in the light of modern biological knowledge. The claim of Christianity to be a new life coming into the world is almost invariably taken to be a figure, meaning that Christianity has power to enrich life, or fulfil it, or to give life after death. Scholars for instance assert that the Christian religion is substantially the religion of the Old Testament, save that it carries on to completer development the conception of God that obtained in Jewry. The belief is general that the essence of Christianity is its revelation, the deeper truth it imparts about God, enabling the world to believe that he is indeed "our Father." Again it is held that the essence of Christianity consists in its being a special divine economy, a work of God whereby men's sins can be forgiven without risk to the moral order; while in the minds of multitudes of the plain people it is, in a sense almost mechanical, a means of making certain of heaven, an insurance with God of life after death. With all the truth there may be in these various conceptions, no one of them nor all of them to-

gether are adequate to the nature and place of the Christian religion. In contrast stands the conception that Christianity is an actual, new, formative life-principle, in the same category with preceding but lower life-principles, entering the world of men and making the world over. Two earlier life-principles have appeared, each in its own way transforming the earth. The first was physical life, organizing material bodies and covering the earth with its endless variety of plants and animals. The second was individual self-consciousness, organizing personalities, and covering the earth with the works of man. The first found its medium of creation in matter, working in and through pre-existing physical and chemical activities, and building up material organisms which serve as media for the appearance of psychical elements. The second found its medium of creation in mind, working in and through the psychical elements and activities of animal life, and building up personal organisms which serve in their turn as media for the appearance of moral elements. The third life-principle is Jesus Christ. He is Life from above, the medium of whose new creation is the moral nature of man. He works in and through the unformed moral elements of human society to organize the Kingdom of God.

Each successive stage builds upon the preceding, the inanimate world of physical and chemical laws being the foundation of all; and the creative activity on each level proves to be a preparing of the material—the stuff—for the creative activity of the stage to follow. The life from above that is Christ, then, conditions and introduces the final stage of a mighty world-process for which all preceding stages are preparatory. The final stage is different and complementary to all that precede, yet one with them in being part, the crowning part, of a single universal progress, one vast development from primal chaos to the everlasting Kingdom of the Spirit. This view of Christianity as the consummation of a series of stages of life, each brought into being by a new and distinctive creative life-principle, and each transforming the world, gives to Christianity and to Him who was its source a

position unique and supreme, at the same time that it includes Christianity and Christ in the vast evolutionary process, correlating them with the inanimate world, the organic world, and the world of human history, in the one universe of law.

The Christian religion claims to be unique and supreme; not only of different nature from other religions, but different in such wise as to be destined and in duty bound to supplant them: "Go ye, and make disciples of all nations." "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in the darkness and the darkness overcame it not." This claim has been a stumbling block and rock of offence to the scientific mind, noting the points of contact, the similarities, the continuity, between Christianity and the other religions, and the deep rooting of Christianity in the past. But if Christianity be considered in the light of its assertion that it is a novel form of life, its observed relations to other religions not only cease to contradict, but even, by analogy with physical life, serve to support its claim to uniqueness and supremacy. Physical life presents innumerable points of contact with the antecedent physical world, and innumerable similarities with purely chemical processes, for the reason that it incorporates them into its being, establishing the closest possible continuity; yet in relation to the inanimate world it is unique and supreme. Precisely the same is true of the relation between mind as organized in self-conscious personalities and the psychic elements of animal mentality; yet, viewed from the plane of the animal world alone, self-conscious personalities must seem miraculous and divine. The supernatural character of Christianity is identical in kind. It makes contact on every hand with the pre-existing manifestations of the moral and religious nature of man, subduing them to its own nature, incorporating them into its own being, and establishing a genuine continuity, yet so organizing them by a distinct method, upon a novel and otherwise unattainable plane, as to constitute a new creation, a birth from above, a supernaturally implanted order in human life.

For the entrance into the world of the new life-principle there

was not only this general preparation in the development of the rudiments of moral experience in self-conscious personalities, there was the special preparation also of the racial experience of the people of the Jews. The Church has always recognized the preparatory relation of Judaism to Christianity; but the claim of Christianity to be a wholly new life come to the world through Jesus Christ would seem to assert that all before Christ, including Israel and her great Men of God, had not that life but were as dead. Yet a claim so absolute would seem to be denied by the practical attitude of the Church itself towards the Israel of pre-Christian times and her monumental gifts to Christianity and the world.

Observation of the beginnings of physical life helps to clarify the point. The way for the coming of organic life was prepared not only by inanimate chemical and physical processes, bringing water, earth, and air to favorable conditions, and building gradually those unimaginably complex molecules that the life-stream could seize upon and build up into organisms; that way was prepared also by an intermediate stage where were active some of the properties of life but not organic life itself—the stage of the primal bacteria. The primal bacteria provided indispensable conditions for the coming of organic life, but were not that life. They are described<sup>1</sup> as “at once the soil-forming and the soil-nourishing agents of the primal earth”; with them “most of the fundamental chemical energies of the living world are already established,” and they seem to have “chemically prepared both the earth and the waters for the lowly forms of plant life.” In contrast to bacteria stands the cell with its definite form of cell-wall, enclosed protoplasm, and distinct nucleus. And with the cell appear the strange powers of physical life entire—the power through the plants of drawing energy direct from the source and fount of all energy, the sun, the power of organizing individuals in ever greater complexity,—for even the single cell, in contrast with the undifferentiated bacterial forms, is an individual with

<sup>1</sup> *The Origin and Evolution of Life*, Henry Fairfield Osborn, pp. 83, 84, 88.

astonishing possibilities of complex organization; and above all the power of combining cells, differentiated in form and function, into larger and larger groups as individual bodies of ever-increasing complexity, bringing into being the whole astounding order of organic life that clothes the earth with variety, color, movement, and beauty.

There is here a striking parallel to the relation between Judaism and Christianity. Judaism, for the world of spiritual religion, was "at once the soil-forming and the soil-nourishing agent"; through Judaism "most of the fundamental" spiritual "energies" that entered into Christianity "were already established"; and Judaism in manifold ways mentally and morally "prepared the earth" for the beginnings of the new life. Then came Jesus Christ, and with Him strange new powers: the power that can feed all souls direct from the Source and Fount of all energy and life; the power that organizes the moral natures of men in largeness and freedom and ever-increasing fulness and wealth; but above all—this is the preëminent distinction of Christianity—the power that can seize upon persons as individual cells and build them up into the universal social body.

To this universal social organism our Lord gave the name of "the Kingdom of God." As the kingdom was the single form of social organism then existing, "the Kingdom of God" was the phrase to describe the universal social organism. That the new life was to create and find expression through such a social organism is a conception prominent not only in our Lord's teaching regarding the Kingdom as given in the Synoptics, but throughout the New Testament.<sup>2</sup>

If we perceive the developing material universe and the course of organic evolution to be the lower tiers of a mighty spiritual temple of the living God, vast preparatory processes making ready for the advent of personal organisms destined to become united in one universal Body, which shall then be the supreme

<sup>2</sup> In the Johannine and other writings: John 15: 1, 5, 6; Rev. 1: 6, 9; Heb. 3: 6; I Tim. 3: 1; but notably in the Epistles of St. Paul: Eph. 1: 23; 4: 12 ff.; 5: 25-27; Col. 1: 13, 18; 2: 19; I Cor. 12: 12 ff.; Rom. 12: 4, 5.

self-manifestation of the Infinite Person, and if we discover this universe of matter and of life and the processes of their becoming to be grand types and symbols of the majestic truths of an all-embracing spiritual order and of a divine and holy purpose of eternity, then we can at one and the same time worship Christ in the Godhead, and yet view His incarnation as an integral part of the one great process of creation under law. Into such a universe the Incarnation and all that it carries with it would come not as a breaking in of some outward unknowable order upon the natural knowable order of human experience, but as a true proper part of the natural order.

In such a spiritually organized universe the incarnation of the Son of God carries with it the Virgin Birth,—not as of necessity, as though God could not otherwise be incarnate, but as of love, because God the Father of all mankind would speak His incarnation in such an actual, physical fact as must forever mean to infant or to Bushman, to His lowliest, meanest child, God's Incarnation. Likewise it carries with it the bodily resurrection; because it was God who in that body was incarnate, and God works in ultimates, and when He conquers His victory is a matter not of wraiths, nor fantasies, nor hopes and beliefs of men, but of the fundamental elements and final facts of being and existence. Because it was God's victory, Christ rose from the dead; and the victory involved and was registered in the spiritual, moral, psychical, and material spheres alike, of divine self-manifestation; else the resurrection were at best but one among many like victories of men's hopes and faith, not The Victory of Incarnate God. And in this spiritually organized universe the Life from above that is Christ could operate in the centuries preceding the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, and prepare the soil mentally and spiritually by the religious experience of the people of Israel for the great Advent of Life through Jesus Christ and its new creative work. In such case, the relation between Judaism and Christianity would be not merely comparable to the relation in the physical world between the preparatory bacterial stage and

the organic life that followed, but an instance of the working of one and the same law in organic processes, and the earlier and physical be truly type and symbol of the later and spiritual development.

If Christ is come a distinct creative life-principle in the world, His material the moral elements of human nature, and His work the forming of the universal social organism, it follows that Christianity can not be adequately estimated until it has had time fairly to shape the social body that shall be the visible expression of its nature. In the fellowship of the Christian Church one may know from within that life, its nature and power, its divineness and universal appeal,—as all life is really known only from within,—and that life within the Church constitutes the Church the leaven of society. Outwardly its character as the leaven that is to make of human society one organism remains to be demonstrated—as a glance at the chaotic condition of institutional Christianity to-day all too eloquently declares. By every presumption, resting on analogy with the age-long processes of the forms of life that have gone before, that leavening work must have just begun, the organism reveals as yet but the rudiments of that body that shall be, the moral order has barely been touched by the life that is to build up its discordant, captive elements into the order of the liberty and glory of the sons of God. Two thousand years is a brief period—a moment by comparison with the million-year stages of physical life—for the forming of an organic order *de novo*. If the portion of human society that bears the name Christian should begin in this time of reconstruction to reveal organic structure on universal lines with even slight definiteness, it would be such a demonstration of the nature of the new Life as the world has not yet seen; and in that demonstration the unifying of the Christian Church itself must be central, or else the Church forego her birthright.

Since we lack as yet the social body that is adequate to reveal the true nature of the new life that is Christianity, we have, for the present understanding of that nature, to look to the long line

of Catholic saints. No line of men whatever can be adequate, of course, to the revealing of a life-stream whose work is the recreating of the entire moral order in a universal social organism. Yet the living line of saints incarnates and reveals the nature and distinctive characteristics of that life as nothing else does; not only so, it is the saints who preserve and transmit that life in its integrity.

One of the notable results of recent study of vital processes is the localizing not only of the seat of heredity, which is significant indeed, but of the energy-nexus which controls the growth and functioning of individual organisms, and also the course of the evolution of species, so far as the adaptive response of life, not the changing environment, is the determining factor in that course. This locus is the germ-cells. The substance which composes them, the germ-plasm, is distributed in part throughout all the body cells, but is preserved in its integrity in the germ-cells and in them alone, and transmitted in its integrity as germ-cells through all successive generations. And while the body-cells change comparatively readily in form and function in adaptation to changes in environment, not only are the germ-cells most persistent, though not unchangeable, in character, being slightly affected in course of long time by established changes in the body-cells, but it is also they that determine by their presence and potency the adaptive changes of the body-cells and the character-heritage transmitted by each generation to the next, determining thus the entire special evolution.<sup>3</sup>

The vital continuity of the Church inheres in the saints. In relation to the body of the Church the saints constitute what the germ-cells are to physical organisms. For the experience, faith, and character of the saints constitute a continuity that from generation to generation shapes both the lives of Christians and the character and development of the Christian Church.

He who seeks help on the way of the divine life from a seventeenth-century master, for instance, filled with wonder at the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The Origin and Evolution of Life*, Henry Fairfield Osborn, pp. 91-98.

unspeakable deeps of the spirit the master has sounded, and at the way by which he came there, may turn perchance to a doctor of the twelfth century, and find, in differing figure and phraseology, the identical path with identical steps marked out as the way of holiness; will make the same discovery and be led to deeper depths in perusing, perhaps, some anonymous mystical treatise of unknown date; and will come upon paragraphs of St. Augustine and passages from St. Paul that declare the one profound experience. In its essence the experience is the fellowship of the Son of God become complete, that is to say, embracing and controlling all phases and activities of the being, wherein the most spontaneous, most unbidden thoughts and impulses, the very propensities of the hidden nature, spring from the consciousness of the fact that He is present and His presence is one's life; making literally true the phrases of St. Paul: "to me to live is Christ"; "it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me"; "bringing every thought into subjection to the obedience of Christ."

To the fulness of this experience each one who seeks is helped beyond measure by those who have travelled the way; but the way itself is hidden and beyond the telling, unknown until trodden; but travelling it, one perceives with wonder how the Christian saints of all lands and times have travelled the one dark way—the long and dark but blessed way of sanctification, and have left what record was possible to lead others to long for, find, and follow it. The point of significance in this connection is that the inner experience of the saints is one, varied in slight details in adaptation to the differing emphases of different ages, but the one experience: The soul's outpourings of prayer, the longing for heavenly fellowship, the vision of sin and its humbling, the vision of Christ and the passion to be one with Him; then the life to be lived by faith alone, everything dark save for the inner, intermittent light that is faith itself, gradually becoming constant and clear; and all the while the inner dying, by a marvellously perfect, perfectly measured, perfectly timed spiritual surgery, that can by no means be self-imposed, that cannot be

foreseen, that is more and more readily accepted, whose anguish never ends but becomes imbedded in deeper deeps of quiet joy as the soul learns that here lies the satisfaction of its insatiable longing, this is the becoming one with Christ; and after that lesson learned, the darker darkness, the more anguished dying, the utmost of soul desertion and solitude; and then, on a day, peace, flowing in like the sea's flooding tide, as the soul awakens from its sleep as of death to the knowledge of perfect love, to the immediate complete perception of infinite love, a perception that drowns out and silences words, utterance, mental concepts, thought itself; it is the soul made "strong to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth—and to know the love of Christ that passeth knowledge,—filled unto all the fulness of God." To this experience in its essence, and with astonishing agreement as to its form, the Catholic saints as one bear witness: it is the disciple's being crucified with Christ and rising together with Him, the branch being grafted into complete union with the Vine.

From their one experience the saints attest, verify, vitalize, and perpetuate the one faith. Of course the faith of the incarnate Son, as received from those who went before and as embodied in the creeds, conditions the experience; but without the experience the faith would never have been born, and without the continuous experience the faith would die. The faith of the saints formulated in the creeds is the faith necessitated by the experience, the faith that alone can make rational its overpowering reality and interpret its unfathomable significance; from that faith those with the experience can no more escape than from consciousness itself. The one experience and one faith of the saints bear fruit in one character of sanctification: utter lowness of mind, patience without limit, spontaneously overflowing love, and common sense that never fails.

The ignorance of the day regarding Catholic sainthood is abysmal. Time was when, not the man of wealth or of power, but the Christian saint, was deemed the great man; about his way

the people flocked, for his presence all thanked God. It may be that the revelation to come to us from these days of world-convulsion will humble our puffed-up hearts, show the hollowness of our boasting over material and scientific achievement, and turn our souls to prayer and "the practice of the presence of God." Nothing less will open the blinded eyes of the generation to see the worth for humankind of sainthood, and the inexpugnable witness its fruit in character bears to the Christian faith,—a humility and patience at which the world gapes and gazes as at something beyond either reason or belief; love that can pierce impregnable armors and conquer by a word; and the common sense, the practical wisdom, that is the "right judgment in all things" which proceeds from the promptings at every step of the Holy Ghost.

This one experience, one faith, and one character summarize sanctification. Sanctification halts while halts either the experience of the life in God, the faith of the incarnate Son, or growth in that character that mediates the Holy Ghost. These three abide and determine Christian development, both for the individual disciple and for the Church. They determine Christian development as the germ-cells determine growth and evolution in the physical realm. For, in the first place, all who are Christ's have His life within and share in a measure in the saints' experience, as all the body-cells share the germ-plasm of the germ-cells; and the sharing by all, however slightly, in the experience of sanctification establishes sainthood as the Christian standard and norm. For the appeal of the sanctified life with power calls to the depths of every soul that honestly, however haltingly, seeks to be Christ's, and *the ultimate decisions of the honest Christian's soul* are a response to that appeal. The experience that is carried to perfection in the saints, then, determines the reactions and thereby the development of the individual members, and with them the development of the body, of the Church.

In the second place, the one experience, touching thus the life of all the cells and of the whole body, becomes the Church's touch-

stone of truth and the vitalizer of her formulated faith. The experience of sanctification proves and vitalizes the faith for the reason that the test of religious truth is pragmatic: humanity holds fast as truth that which the ages prove brings more life and fuller. The faith conditions the experience indeed, but the continuous experience validates the faith and conditions the faith's abiding vitality. And the belief, the doctrine, the practice, the observances, the forms, the worship, the liturgy, which have been proved by the experience, faith, and character of sanctified lives to have power to lead men on and on into the unsearchable riches of Christ, become established in the Church, they become the Church's character. The Church, that is, incarnates, and through incarnation preserves and hands on, the experience and faith which grow out of sanctification, grow, that is, out of the lives of the saints. Hence the Christian creed is the rationale of human life carried to its ultimate, which is sanctification. And the Church's formulated faith, as the rationale of the ultimate of human experience, becomes the guaranty that that ultimate shall abide as the Church's trust for humanity through all time. These are the reasons that the Catholic Church stands immovably by her formulated faith and exalts, as an indispensably essential and vital article of that faith, "the Communion of Saints." That this is indeed the truth of the inmost nature of the Church, of the actual fruit of her ancient creeds, and of the relation to both of the sanctified lives of the past, those know whoever have explored the riches of the Church of the saints, and been suckled at her breasts.

It is thus that the saints, like the germ-cells of the physical organisms, shape the character, reactions, and adaptive changes of the body-cells of the Church, and of the living Church itself, certify and insure the character-inheritance to be handed down from generation to generation, and determine the course of the Church's evolution,—and all in vital continuity with its origin in Jesus Christ our Lord.

There remains for consideration a characteristic feature of

the vital method which, by reason of its peculiar significance and uniqueness, constitutes strongest evidence, not to say definite proof, that Christianity is what it claims to be, a new order of life. It is the way in which vital organisms take specific shape under the pressure of the life-stream, the principle underlying *the forms* that organisms assume.

Bergson in *Creative Evolution* elaborates the conception that the life-stream shapes material organisms for the sake of attaining through them larger and larger freedom; and in the process encounters from the material medium of its creation opposition, obstacles, hindrances of all kinds. The life-stream takes the practical steps needful to obviate and circumvent these obstacles, to "pocket" them after the method that figured so largely in the trench tactics of the Great War. This mode of overcoming obstacles by way of the practical steps that will get round them and open the door to life's larger freedom is, Bergson explains, what brings about the particular forms of organisms, rather than any plan inherent in the life-stream for producing such and such forms.

The point can perhaps be made plainer by two illustrations drawn from fields other than that of physical bodies. Nations are social organisms. Dr. L. P. Jacks in the *Hibbert Journal* for October, 1917, shows that the modern state is constituted for war, that war has been a large, and probably the largest, factor in determining the character of national social units; war has, we may say, necessitated the national organism. Nothing could make this more evident than the Great War, which did as much in five years towards shaping modern nationalities into complete social organisms as all other nation-making forces together; Germany from motives of world-conquest, the allied nations from sheer necessity of self-preservation, each shaping every department of state and society as parts of a great social organism more closely knit and completely unified than had ever been thought possible. The point is that in this organizing process the national organization was occasioned by the opposition the na-

tions had to meet and overcome, the hindrances to be got round in the attainment of certain very practical ends, not at all by the people's saying, "Go to, let us constitute ourselves an organic national body."

Uniquely clear examples of this principle of the life-method are those strictly organic creations, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. These creeds were formed, as Professor McGiffert's treatise on "The Apostles' Creed" makes so plain, not with the purpose of setting forth summaries or symbols of the Church's doctrine, but of erecting a defense and ward against heresies and schisms threatening the Church's life. Indeed, "practically all Christian doctrine," says Henry Osborn Taylor, "was of militant growth, advancing by argumentative denial and then by counter-formation."<sup>4</sup> The result in the creeds of this seemingly negative process proves to be formulations of the faith that are organic, living, adequate symbols of the mighty truth the Church lives by. In contrast is the Athanasian Creed, into the making of which there entered not the purely negative purpose of defense against error but the positive purpose of fixing the form of the doctrine of the Trinity, that is, of defining truth that transcends definition; and the result, not a living symbol, but bonds, for living truth.

These instances illustrate a primary principle of organic processes, the distinguishing mark between the vital method and the non-vital, between the way of life and the way of that which is not life. It appears, as we have said, in the creating of physical organisms out of matter; it appears, as Bergson's exposition of the origin of human intelligence and self-consciousness makes apparent, in the creating of personal organisms out of the psychic elements of consciousness and animal intelligence; and it appears central and definitive in the way by which Jesus Christ creates morally free individuals and an organic society out of the rudimentary moral experience and relations of humankind,—appears here as the Christian truth of "salvation by faith, not by works,"—and proves that Jesus Christ is a new life come into the world.

<sup>4</sup> *The Mediæval Mind*, Henry Osborn Taylor, Vol. I, p. 70.

For the line of demarkation between the moral method of the natural man and the moral method of Christianity is this: the natural man undertakes by direct action of his will to organize his own moral life; Christianity bids men devote their moral and spiritual energy not to the cultivation of their own natures and the eradication of their own sins, but wholly to the cultivation of Jesus Christ; bids them simply turn their backs on their sins, ignore them, and put all faith in the spiritual life-stream that is Christ to organize their moral nature entire, by its own hidden processes according to its own hidden purpose. Because the life that is Christ in us is pursuing its own transcendent ends of larger liberty through ever higher forms of moral organization, and because, by the life-method, organization in the face of obstacles, which here are human sins, proceeds not by direct attacks but by flanking operations, by "pocketing" difficulties, it follows that you and I, who realize our true being through voluntary coöperation with the Life, are called to help the Life's great work in us by definitely not seeking to organize our own morality, not devoting moral energy to direct attacks upon our sins, but by surrender to the Life through faith, and by devoting all moral energy to the practice of His presence who is the Life, and to deepening and completing that fellowship with Him that is the branch's full abiding in the Vine.

It is indeed human nature to look to one's own will to order one's own moral being; nay, more: the immediate meaning in our thought of the stern voice of conscience and the force of the long disciplines of the moral law are to the effect that we *must* order our own moral being. And then, it is the direct way, the natural way, the way of self-satisfaction, bringing a fine glow, in the times of comparative success, to one's self-regard and esteem. But it fails to get one the first step of the way of the ultimate moral progress, for the simple reason that the ultimate moral progress is of a different order, the order of a new life from above,—calling for a self-emptying that there may be a God-infilling, bringing man abasement and abnegation, that he may

discover his sole dignity and grandeur in at-one-ment with the Infinite. It is a mathematical principle that any finite measured against the infinite equals zero; and the mortal who truly knows INFINITE God knows therewith his own nothingness, as all the saints attest.

That so few, even of those with the honest intention to live as Christians, can receive this central truth of the Christian life, that so few are able to leave to one side the hopeless, fruitless struggle of the divided will to unify and heal itself, and do one thing only, turn at every failure to Jesus Christ and learn of Him and let Him unify the will and organize the nature entire, shows that Christianity is indeed but at the beginning of its formative work among men, and that only in the lives of the exceptional followers of the Crucified is Christianity's true nature revealed.

Because this principle is central in Christian truth, yet so contrary to the natural understanding, the man called of God to be the supreme exponent of the new life in Christ was one in whose experience the contrast between the method of the natural man and the method of Christianity was most sharply drawn; whose teaching centered about this truth and was first and foremost concerned to make it plain. The opposition so outstanding in the writings of the Apostle Paul between "the natural man" and "the new man in Christ Jesus," between "the law" and "faith," between "works" whereof a man might "glory," and "the free gift of grace," that "no man should glory" but "in the Lord," is precisely this opposition between the lower moral method, without inherent life, without an organizing principle, and that which "cometh down out of heaven, and giveth life unto the world"; "for if there had been a law given which could make alive, verily righteousness would have been of the law."<sup>5</sup>

St. Paul is emphatic and reiterative to the effect that there is no law for him who is in Christ Jesus—he has "died to law," he is "justified by faith apart from the works of the law"; "there is . . . no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus"; "but

<sup>5</sup> Gal. 3: 21.

if ye are led by the Spirit ye are not under the law." Yet St. Paul's teaching is the farthest possible from justifying the fear so many feel lest, being taken to mean just what it says, it undermine morality and open the gates to lawlessness. For—here is the whole moment of St. Paul's reiterative insistence—only through the faith that implants the new life shall sinbound man fulfil the law, only by that life from above may he pass beyond the hard and fast natural limits to his moral development and arrive at spiritual freedom and moral mastery. The doctrine of "salvation by character" has been set over against that of "salvation by faith" as if it were truth meeting and banishing error. But salvation is not "by character"; *salvation is character*; and character that can grow into the likeness of God's Son is by faith and faith alone. The moral attainment of the natural man may satisfy the standards of his fellows; only by starting on the infinite progress that is "Christ in you the hope of glory," can a man satisfy God. This start is made by surrender to Jesus Christ and by trust in Him to be the sufficient inward life, that is, by faith. It is because faith holds within it this tremendous possibility, this promise and beginning of an eternal moral progress, while the natural man's "works" of shaping his own progress hold him within the bounds of a divided will, that man in God's sight is "justified by faith, not by works of the law." He who makes the supreme act of faith in surrender to Jesus Christ can be "justified," that is, "accounted righteous," before God, because he thereby starts on the way of life that fulfils all righteousness, even the eternal counsels of the Infinite; the man who, on the contrary, trusts to "the works of the law," thereby ignores that life and remains under the limitations that constitute moral death: "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death,"<sup>6</sup> "For sin shall not have dominion over you, for ye are not under law but under grace."<sup>7</sup>

Precisely the same is the teaching of St. Augustine, notably in

<sup>6</sup> Rom. 8: 2.

<sup>7</sup> Rom. 6: 14. Cf. also 2 Cor. 5: 17; Col. 3: 3.

his surpassing prayer, "Give what thou commandest; command what thou wilt." There is no command or law for the Christian beyond the spontaneous forth-giving of that which is given within by the divine life. It is hard teaching to receive, and, received, hard to practice—to overcome sin and fulfil all righteousness not by struggling but by trusting—trusting the life by its unseen vital forces and imperceptible processes of growth to eradicate and destroy sin and newly organize the whole moral being as a part of Jesus Christ. Yet in this way comes peace and the only peace for the Christian, and continuous rapid growth, and the breaking of bonds, and the victorious life—the lack of all which in the lives of Christians makes the Church so feeble in its witness to Jesus Christ. But it must be remembered always that the principle is twofold: there is freedom from "the law" on the one hand only when there is living "in Christ" on the other; for to live in Christ is to fulfil the law. But to count one's self free from the law while not making Christ one's whole life by faith is simply to surrender to lawlessness. There is, furthermore, no moral discipline for the will comparable to the steady look to Jesus Christ through all sense of sin and failure, and fixing faith on Him as actually one's life; no discipline like the endeavor to "abide in Him as the branch in the Vine," steeping consciousness, amidst all distractions, against all contradictions, under all moods, in the truth of His Presence, till from that presence consciousness takes its whole character, and "we, reflecting as a mirror the image of the Lord, are changed into the same image. . . ." All the great saints and Christian mystics have lived by this truth, though rarely formulating it, finding "the one thing needful" to be to sit at Jesus' feet and ever learn of Him, and finding that rules and regulations, outward standards, "the law," are of no service for the soul, nor "of any value against the indulgence of the flesh." And because the method of a new life is necessarily incomprehensible from every standpoint of the lower plane of life, and must seem from such standpoint unnatural and impossible, and because the human mind has had millenniums of training from

the standpoint of the lower, this truth was never intellectually grasped—though practically grasped by the saints and mystics—from the time of St. Paul till the Reformation,—even St. Augustine giving it an oblique turn in his teaching that the divine will practically nullifies and obliterates the human will, while the truth of the relation is a most complete and profound unity of coöperation on the part of the human will with the divine. And the Church for centuries after apostolic times, failing to hold to this central Christian truth of salvation by faith alone, failed to preserve the purity and wholeness of the Gospel; whence the errors and abuses of the Church through the middle ages. Practically every error in faith and practice of the Church of Rome, from the adoration of the Virgin Mary or the infallibility of the Pope, to the sale of indulgences or the abuse of Confession, can be traced to the Church's departure at just this point from Gospel truth. This is but to state in theological language what was said before, that life requires much time for organizing its material adequately to its self-expression and free activity; and the centuries that have passed have afforded all too brief a space for the Christ-life to have brought the moral consciousness of Christendom into harmony with its central principles. Thanks to the thoroughness with which the English reformers had learned the lesson of the earlier failures of the Church, almost every page of the Book of Common Prayer bears witness that the truth of salvation by faith and not by "works" is an established doctrine of the Anglican Church. Should that truth become again eclipsed for long there would have to follow a second reformation.

On the other hand, it is the historic Communions that embody the social character of the Christian religion—the truth that the life in God if lived individually is lived most partially, and that its fulness is conditioned by the intimate living bonds and varied relationships of many members in one actual body, the Church. The heresy of Protestantism is that it thinks of Christ and Christianity in terms of the individual. The historic Communions—like all societies made up of sinners—have not kept true to the

organic law of their being, have sinned, that is, against their own body, and thereby have lost the character of universality which obedience to that organic law would have insured. The Anglican Communion in its reformation sought—and its members in general believe, found—the return to that organic law, and by virtue thereof reveals the true lines of Church universality. Some of its members set forth exclusive theories of the Church, some prize mediaeval conceptions of its nature, some hold to anti-catholic beliefs and practices, many, very many, indulge in a sectarian attitude and divisive conduct; but the Anglican Church herself in her own authorized formularies abides by the principles of organic universality among which is the *sola fide*, true to the truth as it is in Jesus and broad as the needs of men; and so, we believe, points the way by which shall come the Body adequate to the expression in human society of the Life of the Incarnate God, the way to the universal social organism, the holy Catholic Church.

Salvation by faith, not by "works," is the theological expression of the central principle of the life-method in Christianity, identical with the central method of life wherever vital processes occur; and it constitutes, therefore, a demonstration that Christianity is a new life from above, rather than only a new revelation, or a new moral force, or a new fulness of fellowship with God. It is all these, but it realizes them all under the forms of a new life. This fact places Christianity within the one cosmic process; it gives the rationale for the facts of Christianity classed as supernatural; it recognizes the claim of Christianity to be wholly supernatural—that is, of a higher order, something come down from above, not comprehensible from the lower plane—at the same time giving it its place in the one great creative development under law. And it postulates that before Christianity lies a future whose character must be transcendent. Each plane of life has been something transcendent, "come down from above," to every lower plane. The future of the new life, which we see as yet but in its inchoate beginnings, must far outreach any vision

of boldest Christian seer. As each formative life-principle entering the world has given totally new form and direction to the phenomena of the planes below, so Christianity as the new formative life-principle acting on the highest plane of all should be expected to give new form and direction to the psychical and physical phenomena that marked preceding planes; and of this our Lord's powers over the human body and over the phenomena of nature are the earnest and foretaste, as St. Paul's vision of "the creation itself . . . delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God" is its prophecy.

Some such conceptions as those here set forth would seem imperative for Christian theology, if the Christian religion, conscious and convinced that it is of divine origin, absolutely unique, and the sole avenue to the ultimate evolution of humanity, is to find its place in the reconstruction from the foundations of human thought that marks modern times, to be able to appeal with the authority of truth to the mind of the day which thinks, and rightly, in terms of the reign of law, and to fulfil its function as the power ordained of God to inform on the lines of Christ not only the life but the reasoned thought, and not only life and reasoned thought, but the unreasoned vital and mental processes of humankind.

## FRANCISCAN PARALLELS

*By VIDA D. SCUDDER, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.*

There are two special sources of trouble in our industrial dissensions. First, the insistent question concerning the rights and limits of private property; second, and closely connected, the constant necessity of balancing services and rewards.

If the chief consideration in arranging the industrial world were to secure fine character (Utopian idea!), that necessity would not be tolerated. For the effort to measure work against pay not only causes ceaseless unrest, it also encourages the worst in human nature. The person paid habitually feels that he deserves more than he gets,—except once in a blue moon, when he fears morbidly lest he be getting more than he deserves. The employer is naturally disposed to value the work done for him as low as possible; being human, he is sensitive to every last weakness of the man he employs, and instinctively beats labor down. The worried onlooker, caught to his discomfort between the upper and nether millstone in industrial strife, anxiously and meticulously seeks to determine a minimum wage. And civil wars are perpetually in process, due to the effort to decide "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work."

(Old Carlyle, by the way, said it couldn't be done. He said the true man had to give his life away.)

Such are the inevitable outcomes of the bargaining instincts on which our economic order rests. Could the most fiendish ingenuity devise a system more adapted to incite men to judge one another meanly, more sure to make them concentrate thought on the morrow, magnify their own merits, and spend energy on their rights rather than their job?

The Saint Simonien formula shines in comparison: "From each according to his capacity,—to each according to his needs."

Dreamers have always liked it, Utopias have always been built on it. But when were Utopias other than a dream? Some thinking less sentimental than that of the Utopists leads however in the same direction, tends to discredit the necessary relation between work and pay.

Concerning that other tormenting matter, the right limits of private property, expansion is needless. Ever since the introduction of personal possessions with the fig-leaves, private ownership has caused a large proportion of human woes.

And speaking of fig-leaves,—it was the Franciscans who made that remark about them.

## II

In the thirteenth century, history offers an interesting bit of testimony in these matters.

Throngs of men at that time were trying an experiment. They renounced property, individual or collective, and they ignored measurings of justice. These men served the community well. We find them busy in manual work,—lending a hand at harvest, acting as servants in great houses, cooking, cleaning, weaving baskets, carrying water-pots. They tend the sick, they lecture in universities, they pursue scientific research. It is no exaggeration to say that much which is best in the richly productive life of the thirteenth century is due to them. They never wasted energy querying what they were worth. For their labor they received never a penny; and Europe sprang into new life under their touch.

This great company was composed of the followers of that rather unpractical person, Francis of Assisi.

The friars were different from the monks; they never separated themselves from the common life. The monk lived settled in his home,—the friar wandered as a vagrant, defying conventions; respectable folk often thought of him as we think of a “wobbly.” He was an internationalist and a pacifist; indeed, pacifist convictions extended to the Third Order of Francis, for those

Brothers of Penitence were forbidden to bear arms, a fact which sometimes proved embarrassing to the quarrelsome towns in which they lived. More intimately related than monks to the secular life, the friars were always champions of popular freedom. The very name Francis gave them, "Minores," lesser folk, was a political term applied to the proletariat. In struggles for liberty, whether led by English Simon de Montfort, or by the citizens of some hill town in Italy, your friar was generally an ally. He had a touch of anarchy in his blood. Monasticism had become an accepted element in the normal order; Franciscanism was a disturbing force. It was the most salient form of the radicalism of its day; and for some time it made good.

For the Franciscans were not only useful; they were extraordinarily happy. They had achieved the freedom which restless humanity craves; the "libertà francescana" became a by-word. A hostile world, a puzzled Church, plunged them into fearful straits; but so far as their own obstinate opinion went, their mode of life was an unqualified success.

One group of disciples in particular were passionately intent, after the Master's death, on preserving his ideal in its purity. These "Zelanti," or Spirituals, as they were called, deserve more attention than has been popularly bestowed on them. Our most cherished knowledge of Francis himself comes from them; for those delightful works, the *Speculum Perfectionis*, the *Sacrum Commercium*, the *Fioretti*, are products of their school, controversial in origin. The first two are among the works which survived a wholesale destruction of dangerous documents, decreed under S. Bonaventura—whom may God reward as he deserved—in 1260. A mass of other literature with the same animus exists, still mostly buried in Latin: argumentative, expository, and narrative. It was largely written by three men: Angelo Clareno, an endearing mystic, Ubertino da Casale, an effective fanatic, and Pierre Jean Olivi, a true Christian statesman. What had been an exquisite intuition to the Founder, had become under stress of opposition a cause to defend; and these books are a rich record

of the desperate struggle lasting over a century to uphold the vision of Francis. They are human documents of rare value, and in more ways than one, of surprising modernity.

### III

In these books, Francis again and again receives a title which can hardly have been acceptable to the thirteenth century at large. "Francis Innovator" he is called; it is the title which belongs to the pioneer. He did not impose a dogma on his disciples, he led them into a life. "Vita" is the most recurrent word of Franciscan literature.

The chief notes of this new life are two: Poverty and Labor. Neither is in a sense original. Benedict and monasticism had stressed both, and heretical sects in Francis' own day professed them with ardor. But the reason why the Franciscan way seemed to youth so fresh, so romantic, so appealing, was that it sought neither labor nor poverty as ends or goods in themselves. It regarded both simply as means to the release of love, and love is forever revolutionary.

Poverty is what one first thinks of in the movement; the complete abandonment of the Proprium, the renunciation of the acquisitive instinct, was the portal to the new life of love. But in Francis' teaching, the injunction to poverty is always accompanied by the injunction to work. The lazy begging friar, curse and jest of later times, would have been abhorrent to him. "Brother Fly" his characteristic humour nicknamed a certain person who did nothing but eat and buzz. "I worked with my hands," said his Will, "And I wish to work, and I wish firmly that all the other brothers should work at some labor which is compatible with honesty. Let those who know not how to work, learn."

Now there were many brothers who knew not how to work; for very few came from the lower classes. Their background was middle class, professional, occasionally noble. A modern gentleman is rather pleased with himself, when he takes a hand, say as railway porter in a strike; but fine phrases about the dig-

nity of labor were not current then, and a young Franciscan must have been surprised to find himself ploughing or cooking. Francis expected him to do hard things. For instance, he took for granted that the brothers would often enter domestic service. In an interesting passage of the Rule confirmed by Pope Innocent in 1290, he warns them not to be stewards or majordomos, who lord it over smaller fry, but to seek the lowest of menial positions.

The women did not practise labor long; the mediæval idea of their necessary seclusion prevented. But there is one precious phrase about the Clares from the Chronicle of Jacque de Vitry, "Nihil accipiunt sed de labore manuum vivent." This same chronicle says that at first the brothers were forbidden to beg except for the needs of lepers. Even in 1294, the observant statutes stipulate that clerical as well as lay brothers are to work.

Evasions were frequent; as early as 1230, Gregory IX, in the Bull *Quo Elongati*, declared that the Brothers are not obliged to observe the Will. They took advantage of an unguarded statement of Francis' own, to the effect that labor must not be undertaken at the expense of devotion. When, as soon happened, the friars became leaders in scholarship, they discovered that manual work is hard to reconcile with intellectual pursuits; an English translation of the Rule reflects this difficulty. But the master's intention was plain, and his best disciples were loyal. There was ample authority to fall back on: not that Francis ever cared much for authority. It is said that St. Benedict "brought together the Goth and the Roman patrician on the common ground of manual labor." Angelo Clareno, in 1319, wrote an "Exposition" of the Rule, devoting his fifth chapter to manual work, and marshalling a host of witnesses in its favor. He especially loved St. Basil, being well read, for reasons in his personal life, in the Greek fathers. Good monks, says Basil, are to do work "befitting their place and calling, that is, free from bargaining, luxury, the need of long work-hours, the touch of filthy lucre."<sup>1</sup> Conditions are to be such that the work can be done without

<sup>1</sup> Angelo Clareno, *Expositio Regul Fratrum Minorum. Ad Claras Aequas*, 1912, Cap. V, p. 116.

encroaching on necessary rest. No luxury trades, no overwork! Pretty good principles to use in thinking out a morale of industry today!

But if labor is insisted on, anxious stress is constantly placed on the motive for it, which is never to be pay. "Let those who know not how to work, learn, not through desire to receive the price of labor, but for the sake of example and to dispel idleness." So ends the quotation already given. And so it is no wonder that Francis and his followers won Lady Poverty for their bride. Beggars all! Francis had a mortal fear of that cankered sense of Rights which today poisons the relations of capital and labor. He wanted his brothers to confess themselves pensioners on the free bounty of God and man. Through the deep humiliation of dependence they should gain this knowledge. It is inconsistent with instincts of bargaining or ownership, it is even inconsistent with generosity. These instincts are charged with peril; too often they kill love, and enslave the spirit. From such dangers the Little Brothers should be free; conscious, never of giving, always of receiving, they should be of the meek who inherit the earth.

And so they were in very truth. A delightful sense of possession vibrates through Franciscan literature. "This is our convent," they laughed, leading Lady Poverty to a high mountain whence the glory of all Italy lay revealed.

"Mine is all the Saxon land,  
Mine is all the Gascon land,  
Burgundy I hold in my hand,  
And all of Normandy,"<sup>2</sup>

they sang gayly. "Disprezzando possedere"—by despising to possess. It is a great phrase. The treasure of the humble is the same in all ages, and what nobody owns, like the sky, is the safe property of all.

Compassion doubtless aided Francis to his choice of poverty. When he saw a very poor man, he was wont to say—anticipating Proudhon—that to have more than that man was a theft. Had

<sup>2</sup> Anne Macdonnell, *Sons of Francis*, Deut., 1902, p. 363.

there been abundance for all he might have felt no more scruple about sharing it than in accepting La Verna. He was no ascetic. Yet never could he have desired a shadow of private right. His cult of "nudity"—to use another favorite Franciscan word—was born not of pity but of preference.

No one can deny the ingenuity with which this system frees men from galling chains. But those poor Spiritual Franciscans who tried to live by it had a difficult time. The antagonism of the world, the insidious patronage and secret distrust of the Church, the factors inherent in their own nature, all tormented them.

#### IV

Good and bad men were both for and against the strict observance. Brothers strong in common sense favored compromise; but so did the self-indulgent and conventional. Holy and aspiring spirits obeyed the Rule to the last jot and tittle, but so did fanatics wild enough to discredit any ideal. The distracted Popes would have sympathized sometimes with Glaucon's terse remark in the *Republic*: "A state of simplicity is a city of pigs." One of them said plaintively that the more men sought to live like saints, the more they chose to live like beasts. If, in spite of obstacles without and within, the Franciscan movement was strong, radiant, and productive, the fact is impressive testimony to value of some kind in the underlying ideal.

The Franciscans had no quarrel with society. It never entered their heads to want other people to live as they did; the days of economic theory were far, and they did not dream that they held a revolutionary ideal. Indeed, they had peculiar sympathy with life as they found it,—were famous for promoting marriages, interested in politics, lovingly *en rapport* with their times. They were sociable folk, and liked town life:

"Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus amabat,  
Oppida Franciscus,"

ran an old snatch of verse. One might have expected them to be popular.

But the world can never tolerate people who, however innocently, imply tacit criticism on its proceedings. It scents danger. Defensive instincts may be discerned at the root of all the opposition and the persecution which the Spiritual Franciscans met.

This opposition roused them at times to pungent and refreshing irony. Their literature, with all its poetic charm, is by no means sentimental, it has a tart flavor. For instance, that exquisite parable the *Sacrum Commercium* pulses with purest mystic rapture in the description of the passionate union of Poverty with her lovers; but nothing could be more modern or entertaining than Poverty's account of her enemies, Avarice and Sloth, disguised as Discretion and Prudence. Hear how well Avarice pleads:

"Do not show yourselves so severe to mankind, . . . but have a kindly countenance for them, and do not outwardly reject the honours offered you; be content to do so inwardly. It is a good thing to have the intimacy of the great,—for if they honour and venerate you many seeing this shall follow their example, and be the more easily turned to God." . . . Again "What do ye here all the day idle and making no provision for the morrow? In what could it hurt you to have the necessities of life, so long as you lack all superfluities? For in peace and quietness you could work out your salvation and the salvation of mankind if you were supplied with all things needful to you. . . . Would God reject you because you had wherewith to give to the needy and remember the poor, when He Himself has said, It is more blessed to give than to receive? . . . You need fear no harm from the possession of riches, so long as you account them as naught. There is no evil in things themselves, but only in the soul of man, for God saw all things and they were good. Oh how many having possessions use them evilly, which had they been yours would have been put to a good use, for holy is your purpose, holy your desire."<sup>3</sup>

Avarice is saying those things still, and most of us find her entirely persuasive.

<sup>3</sup> *The Lady Poverty*. Tr. by Montgomery Carmichael. Tenant and Ward, 1902, pp. 80-87.

Not even the briefest summary of the dramatic struggle is possible here. Angelo Clareno told the story in his *Historia Septem Tribulationum*, and few mediæval records are more vivid. It is a story of blunders, confusions, and well-meaning cruelties, of men wounded in the house of their friends, of hate incurred for the sake of love, of a relentless idealism betrayed at times into bitterness but for the most part marked by marvelously gentle restraint. Imprisonment, exile, death, were gladly suffered by those who sought to lose all for poor Christ crucified. "*Asperentes in Christum Jhesum nudi nudam crucem post eum evan-*  
*gelice viventes, mortui mundo ferant,*" wrote Angelo passionately.

Every woe that modern radicals endure fell to the Franciscan lot. Now one policy, now another, prevailed in the order. As always happens, men of the middle way bewildered uncompromising minds. Such was that charming person, St. Bonaventura. "I can not understand Brother Bonaventura," mourned a simple soul: "He agrees with all I say, and then he goes and does something quite different." It is he who is commissioned to write the official life of the saint, when in 1260 the reactionary forces in power decree the destruction of early documents. The extremists draw more and more apart. Their clear ideas become mixed with all sort of irrelevant notions, such as we now call fads; for Italy and France seethed with curious sects, mystical and wild. Such again is the usual radical fate. The University world gets terribly excited, and long academic controversies break out: one has heard of similar reactions today. Groups flee the center of disturbance; Angelo and his friends, for instance, settle for a while on an island in the Ægean, from which accusations of heresy drive them away. Puzzled Popes contradict each other in Bull after Bull, according to the usual Government habit. Actual persecutions, sporadic at first, increase; by early fourteenth century, fires are burning merrily, especially in Provence. Our fires for radicals are no longer material today—but they can scorch. Under this stress, the Spirituals, on the defensive, develop theories to defend their instincts, and things

come to a head in the great controversy under John XXII, as to whether Christ and the Apostles ever owned anything. This controversy filled an entire chamber of the Papal library at Avignon with its documents.

It is all over by 1334. But still the embers smouldered. Late in the century, a certain Fra Michaele from the Marches of Ancona was publicly burned in the piazza della Signoria in Florence, crying out exultingly from the flames the old watchwords of his party: that "Christ in so far as he was mortal man and traveller, and His apostles also, showing the Way of Perfection, held nothing, either in private or communal manner, as property or for power; but only for simple and immediate use; and that Pope John XXII was a heretic." A wonderful little contemporary document tells the story; it may echo still in those convents of the Marches which were for long the breeding ground of Christian radicalism.

But conventionality conquered, and the Franciscan leaven ceased to stir the dough. In 1415 the endorsement of the Observants as a separate body satisfied the cravings of conscience in a measure; and people were not burned any more.

## V

Two things are to be noted in the severer phases of the Franciscan movement. First, the excellent case the Spirituals had: next, the utter impossibility of obeying their ideals.

So far as conviction went, it was clear; so far as authority went, it was ample. These men knew their Bibles; they quoted the disquieting passages of Scripture almost ad nauseam,—and who denies that Scripture can be disquieting? Angelo Clareno's anthology from the Church fathers is an excellent arsenal for the Christian radical still.

Difficulty began when the brothers tried to live what they believed. Compromise and evasion then became the order of the day, and deterioration was rapid. What one man can do, a group can not; mere growth in numbers forced modifications.

Presently, their abodes were no longer "luoghi," simple places to perch, but regular houses. These houses stayed poor enough; the catalogue of effects in the English Franciscan monasteries raided at the Reformation is pitiful and honorable; but they were quite definitely property. Nominally, they did not belong to the brothers; the device was early adopted of trustees, or friends, who could accept gifts for the benefit of the order. But obviously, this convenient device only shifted responsibility, and ever so many problems arose in connection with these settled dwellings.

Again, as the community grew, it became awkward, to say the least, never to handle money. Francis had repeatedly, with quivering earnestness, vetoed touching the accursed thing. Endless were discussions and perplexities; at one point, the friars decided that coin might be counted with a stick if it were not touched with the fingers. By the fourteenth century, they were receiving legacies, holding large communal goods, behaving like any other monastic order. In vain had Francis reiterated that his drastic provisions were to be obeyed "without gloss, without gloss, without gloss." The Spirituals, who tried to avoid drifting with the rest, were constantly betrayed into impossible situations.

Learning! It was a vexed question. Francis, logically, had denounced it; but the new life in his children's veins urged them to vital study, and that meant books, classrooms, apparatus,—as Roger Bacon cogently and vehemently pleaded. Again, clothes! One can not run around naked, though some heretical sects were inclined that way. And food,—it certainly belongs to one while one eats it; what will Lady Poverty say to that?

So sprang up a very modern distinction between Ownership and Use; virtually our own distinction between property for use and property for power. The Franciscans discussed it interminably. For "use" is an elusive term—mortal men all hold their goods for use only, and luxury enough may be covered by the word. So arose the last formula: "usus pauper," the poor use, a formula for which men died. No control might be exerted

over anything material; there should be no power in possession. Immediate use was the only thing permitted; nothing was to be saved or hoarded. Only so much food could be received in alms as could be consumed before sundown. And here the brothers paused; so far as theory went, they could do no more.

Their practical problems often seem trivial. How many inches of tunic were consistent with the "usus pauper"? Might one wear a hood or not? Clothes bothered these poor brothers more than they bother most worldlings. But beneath these discussions ran deep the question of the right relation of the Christian to the things of sense.

The controversy under John XXII proved inconclusive enough: but the whole question concerning Christian communism and indeed concerning democracy tended to emerge from it. This is the background of the theories of Marsiglio of Padua, of William of Occam, of the interesting little studied theories of the young Wyclif. Only good men, Christian men, thought Wyclif, can be trusted with power, with "dominium," but Christian men will never want it; they will always dislike to hold anything as their own; ergo, a communist world. The obvious application was to the iniquity of Church endowment; hence Wyclif in common with many mediæval idealists was led direct to attack the sacerdotal theory on which such endowment then rested. But his "poor priests," or lollards, of whom Creighton speaks as a dangerous socialistic force, evidently remembered the early social teaching of their master.

Meantime, it seems a pity that as the years went on, the Franciscans ceased to pay much attention to Our Lord's years at the Carpenter's bench. The emphasis on Labor tended to lapse. This was a weakness, for community of goods and industrial conscription belong together. Renunciation of private ownership means abandonment of the sharpest incentive to industry yet found; and the development of a strict morale toward work must go pari passu with any sound advance toward a socialized order.

## VI

Were the Spirituals right or wrong? Did they succeed or fail?

There is no question as to their own opinion. To the end, that Way to which they clung with impassioned loyalty was to them the Way of love and power and joy. Those old books of theirs are fragrant still, and to breathe their atmosphere makes one a little homesick. The Spiritual Franciscans inhabited reality, that Land of Life, that "Vera Patria," which man forever seeks and rarely finds.

That they were no victims of delusion is fairly well proved by their achievement. Francis inspired his whole age. His movement bore intimate relation to that rising art which was rooted in realism, to a poetry which set new rhythms for Europe, to a scientific renascence in which the name of Roger Bacon is still remembered. The Grey Friars of Evesham buried Simon de Montfort, and all movements for popular liberty felt the Franciscan touch. It was a creative movement in every line, it counted in its generation.

But the other side is true also. The experiment proved suicidal; and it is impossible not to sympathize with the anxious and conscientious men who scented danger in it and snuffed the Spirituals out.

Today, the right to private property held for power is scrutinized as never before; the effort to establish right balances between work and pay exhausts and depletes civilization. Surely, the Franciscan experiment, in its inward success and outward collapse, invites attention. Let us analyze the paradox it presents.

Two negative elements inhered in the movement—asceticism and individualism. Francis himself was no ascetic; he delivered his generation from that thralldom into a joyous love of nature and people. That is why art sprang into being under his smile. Yet even Francis did not escape the Manichæan taint, and his followers leaned more and more on ascetic theory, and fell some-

times into wild excesses of self-mortification. We moderns, who believe that the world of sense is not our enemy but our instrument, can never again renounce property from an ascetic motive.

Moreover, in entire innocence Francis created a spiritual aristocracy, at odds with the common life. It never occurred to him or his that they had discovered a new principle of organization, which might threaten the existing social structure; what suspicion of this danger existed was confined to their enemies. Always there would be rich and propertied persons from whom the lovers of Lady Poverty might beg. Always there would be War, which as Francis clearly proclaimed was the inevitable result of private property. Only a very few men, of special vocation, could disentangle themselves from these bonds. There was an advantage in this attitude; the Franciscans never criticized other people. But there was disadvantage too. They did not mean to withdraw from the world, like the monks; they meant, humbly, lovingly, intimately, to share the common life. But circumstances were too strong for them. Separatist tendencies, a clog to Christianity from the beginning, controlled them; they drifted into segregated groups, alien to the life of the Whole, with no more contribution to make than the monks to the general establishment of better relations among men; and they ended as a great ascetic religious order, stereotyped like all the rest.

Indeed this was the only way of self-preservation for the votary of poverty. As a free lance, as a detached individual trying all by himself to move naturally among men, in the life of love and poverty, the friar was a tragic failure. Either he lapsed, or he was persecuted; and the lapses proved more than the persecutions that his ideal would not work in a world organized on exactly contrary principles. The social system could not assimilate him. His only hope lay in withdrawing, as he presently did, into a community of the like-minded, where he would not disturb the accepted order of things.

The ascetic and the individualistic impulse both leave us cold today. They are not obsolete; there are valuable elements in

them. The disciplines of abstinence are wholesome: now as ever it requires an intense individual vocation to resist the allurements of the bargaining and acquisitive system. But we know that these impulses are partial, and that Franciscan activity was warped and hurt by their prominence.

Now it can not be too much stressed that neither of these elements was fundamentally inherent in the teaching of Francis. Pure compassion, pure love, not ascetic belief that sense was of the devil, impelled him to wed Poverty. And if, being a man of his own time, he had no abstract vision of a new social order such as haunts us today, he was no solitary soul; to a marvelous degree he desired and achieved fellowship.

But his followers soon, in a subtle way, became the slaves of the "proprium" once more; for one fears that too often it was in order to save their own souls that they renounced the things of sense. And weakened within, caught without between the Scylla and Charybdis of patronage and suppression, they were submerged and lost.

That was the end of their story. Yet the longer we contemplate them the more clearly we see that their handicaps were of the age, while their wisdom is eternal. Mocked, imprisoned, torn asunder, they remained free men: cut off from all the normal incentives and ambitions which we assume as necessary to social welfare, they roused Europe to new life. The paradox is arresting; it searches, it stimulates, it consoles.

## VII

Those old enemies—the bargaining, the acquisitive instinct—can we escape them without cutting ourselves off from life? The Franciscan story can not answer the question; but it greatly quickens our desire. Modern psychology pronounces the method of Francis sound. To live like the first Franciscans would be to attain freedom, joy, and power.

Such life is absolutely inhibited by the present constitution of society.

Yet the situation has changed since Francis' time. People are seriously thinking now about new social arrangements on a large scale; thinking toward an organization which shall cut that old knot tying together rewards and services, and establish a true "commonwealth." They are not only thinking but planning; experiments are going on—some cautious, tentative, hopeful if little, others large, foolish, dangerous. These experiments, to be of value, must be very small and careful; even so, in our day, they are hardly likely to make good. But the lesson of the old Franciscan story surely tends to reinforce them; for it hints that to discredit the bargaining and acquisitive instincts might strengthen rather than weaken morale and productive ardor. The chief argument against Socialist tendencies is that any weakening of the incentive of profit would make humanity slump into the morass of inefficiency or indolence: the Franciscans bear a directly contrary witness. A system which relegates the incentive of gain to the scrap heap, or even one which subordinates it severely, may not be possible; but were it possible, it would not imply a lax, languid, lazy world. It might open the way for an immense invigoration, for release from the necessities that harass us and the compunctions that oppress. We might know as only the very few can know today, and they imperfectly, a mode of life virile, creative and free.

One would suppose that the Christian policy would be, not to disavow or oppose these socialist tendencies, but to get the world ready for them. Democracy might help. Democracy, unlike some forms of religion, does not stop with the individual; nor does it care greatly for segregated or sporadic radical experiments. What it values in personal behaviour is chiefly adventure which discovers principles that can be socialized. It craves the wisdom which can be used for the benefit of the whole. Could the Franciscan ideal conceivably yield such a hint? Might the renunciation of property held for power, through a common choice expressed in legislation, be possibly the starting point for a civilization more or less productive?

One hardly dares suggest the idea. For to organize such a society without an informing religious passion would be to court sure failure. Before men could maintain it they must reach a higher level of purpose. The love of God and man which Francis knew must burn within them; is it possible to claim that that flame is kindled among us now?

In any case, the other policy has had full trial, and it keeps us perturbed, inhibited, and mean. The demand for deep change, for a completely new orientation of energy, grows insistent. It must be heeded, some day. Meantime, in a world organized on a basis of services and rewards, the votary of Lady Poverty must always be baffled. One fresco constantly recurs among the many dedicated to the life of Francis. The Saint kneels gazing upward in a landscape rocky, darkened and austere. Above him hovers a crucified seraph, whose wings flush mystically red in the blue deeps of air; and from the wounds of the seraph streams piercing light, which stabs the outreached hands, the feet, the side, of the rapt worshipper. In society as we now know it, the follower of Poverty, the hater of the Proprium, the scorner of reward, will share the fate of Francis; he will always be stigmatized.

## FRESH LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE FLOOD

By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Bexley Hall, Gambier, Ohio

Professor Albert T. Clay of Yale University, in a book published last year by the Yale University Press, entitled *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, gives the text, transliteration, and translation of an inscription which was published by Father Scheil in 1898, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, 20. Clay's book calls for a fresh study of the history of our Old Testament story of the Flood. This is the purpose of this article, and it is hoped that our study will contribute somewhat to a clearer understanding of the probable origin and especially of the history of the combined accounts of the Flood recorded in the Book of Genesis. It will be necessary to give a brief history of the discovery and publication of Cuneiform material dealing with the Flood. This will pave the way for an arrangement of this material in groups and in chronological order and for an attempt to set our Biblical material in its proper Semitic background.

The earliest discovery of a Cuneiform account of the Flood was made by George Smith in 1872, and it was published in 1873-4. The account was found in the ruins of the Royal Library at Nineveh. The tablets containing it were copied in the seventh century B.C. from an earlier account, and contain a long epic of twelve books, recounting the adventures of the old Babylonian hero Gilgamesh. Towards the end of the epic we learn that Gilgamesh, desiring immortality, crosses the Waters of Death in order to beg the secret from his ancestor Utnapishtim, who in the past had escaped the Flood and had been granted immortality by the gods. The Eleventh Book of the epic contains the account of the Flood which Utnapishtim related to his relative Gilgamesh. Utnapishtim tells how it was resolved by the gods to send the Flood on the earth. But Ea determined to save

his favourite Utnapishtim. He conveyed to him a warning of the impending danger, commanding him to build a ship to save his life. Utnapishtim understood the message and promised to obey, and was furnished with a pretext to offer his fellow-citizens for his strange proceedings. The ship was built according to definite dimensions and laden with the necessities of life. Into it embarked the family and dependants of Utnapishtim, with domestic and wild animals. Last of all Utnapishtim himself entered the ship, shut the door, and handed the command over to the steersman, Buzur-Amurru. On the following morning the storm arose and raged for six days and six nights till all mankind was destroyed. On the seventh day the Flood began to abate and on the twelfth day the ship grounded on Mount Nisir, after a dove, a swallow, and a raven had been sent out in turn to seek for land. Finally, Utnapishtim and his company left the ship, and they all offered a sacrifice and libation to the gods who were delighted with the sweet savour thereof. Then Ea received Utnapishtim and his wife and made them divine. This epic has been published in model form by Paul Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos* (Leipzig, 1884-1891), and has been translated many times.<sup>1</sup> The translation of the Flood section in Clay's above-mentioned book is an excellent one.

In 1898 Scheil<sup>2</sup> discovered and published the text which forms the subject of Clay's book already mentioned. Although not recognized by Scheil and others, this text, as Clay shows, is part of an old version of the Flood. Clay calls this version the Atra-hasis Epic because the name of the hero of the Flood herein described is Atra-hasis. Four years later, in 1902, Zimmern<sup>3</sup> published and translated the so-called Ea and Atra-hasis Legend, of the Assyrian period, which is really a later redaction of the text published by Scheil and is therefore a flood story. Both these are in fragmentary condition. But sufficient remains to enable us

<sup>1</sup> See R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, New York, 1912, pp. 80 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, 20, 55 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 14, 277 ff.

to follow the main outline of the story. Still another Assyrian text was published by Pinches<sup>4</sup> in 1907. It is very fragmentary, but it is clear that it is a portion of a flood story and more specifically of the Atra-hasic epic, for it mentions the hero's name and refers to the ship and to that with which it should be loaded.

Only three years later, in 1910, Hilprecht<sup>5</sup> published and translated a fragment of thirteen partially preserved lines representing the Cassite period. It mentions a flood, destruction, and the building of a great ship. This "Earliest Version" is not only outranked in age by the text discovered by Scheil, which is dated in the eleventh year of Ammi-zaduga (1966 B.C.), but does not compare in age with the earliest version which so far has been found. This last was published and translated for the first time by Poebel<sup>6</sup> in 1914. It was written in Sumerian about 2000 B.C. The story of the Flood contained in this text is very similar to that in the Gilgamesh Epic. The title of the hero is Zi-û-suddu. But this is clearly only the fuller Sumerian equivalent of the Babylonian Ut-napishtim, for the first two elements in the Sumerian name are identical with the two elements of Ut-napishtim, and, moreover, the names are found equaled in a later Babylonian explanatory list of words.<sup>7</sup> This Sumerian text begins with a brief history of the world, and continues with an account of the building of cities and the Story of the Flood. The gods decide to send a Flood but Ishtar laments for the intended destruction of mankind. This is followed by a brief account of the action taken by the other chief figures in the drama. Enki devises the project of preserving the seed of mankind from destruction. The hero is then introduced and is warned in a dream that a Flood is to be sent to destroy the seed of mankind. Then comes the account of the Flood, the escape of the great boat and the sacrifice to

<sup>4</sup> Rawlinson, *Inscriptions of Western Asia* IV<sup>2</sup>, Additions, p. 9; translated in Rogers, *op. cit.*, 104.

<sup>5</sup> Hilprecht, *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story*, Bab. Exped. of the Univ. of Penn., Series D, Vol. V, 1, p. 338.

<sup>6</sup> Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, No. 1; *ibid.*, *Historical Texts*, 14 ff. and 66 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum*, XVIII, pl. 30, 1.9 (a).

Shamash, and finally an account of the propitiation of the angry gods and of Zi-û-suddu's immortality. The well-known story preserved by Berossus, in which the hero is Xisuthros,<sup>8</sup> makes seven Flood stories, representing Sumeria, Babylonia, and Assyria.

The chronological order of these stories in their present form would seem to be: The Sumerian account, The Early Atra-hasis account, The Hilprecht Fragment, The Late Atra-hasis account, The Gilgamesh Epic, The Assyrian Fragment, and The Berossus Version.

Now, I think it will not be difficult to show that these seven accounts, or, at least, the first six represent two separate lines of development. That is, the Sumerian, the Hilprecht Fragment and the Gilgamesh Epic represent one line, and the early and late Atra-hasis and the Assyrian Fragment the other line of development—the former line having a southern and the latter a northern location as its place of origin.

A comparison between the Sumerian account and the story in the Gilgamesh Epic will show how closely related they are. The differences are few in comparison with the similarities. Both are preceded by an account of the founding of cities. Gilgamesh Epic has a council of the gods who determine the destruction of mankind. From a passage in the Fourth Column of the Sumerian account, where it is stated that the sending of a flood to destroy mankind was "the word of the assembly," it is clear that the Sumerian account, which is here broken, contained a record of an assembly of the gods. In the Gilgamesh Epic, Ishtar weeps because of the decision of the gods. The same is said of Innanna (Ishtar) in the Sumerian Version. The only difference here is that in the former Ishtar's lamentation is occasioned by the advent of the storm, while in the latter the lamentation of the goddess precedes the sending of the Flood.

The names of the hero in both accounts agree—Zi-û-suddu, as noted above, being the Sumerian equivalent of Utnapishtim. In

<sup>8</sup> *Eusebii Chronicorum Libri Duo*, Schoene, Vol. I, 20-24; Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-112.

the Sumerian account the hero is called "the king." This accords with the tradition preserved by Berossus that before the Flood the land was governed by a succession of supreme rulers, and that the hero of the Flood was the last of them.

In the Sumerian Version the hero is warned in a dream of the coming calamity. But while there is no direct mention of a dream in the Gilgamesh Epic, at this point, Ea, in a later passage, seeks to excuse his action to Enlil by saying that the gods' decision was revealed to Atra-hasis through a dream. Moreover, in the Berossus Version the god's warning is conveyed in a dream, and in the Gilgamesh Epic the hero proceeds to carry out the divine instructions at the break of day.

In both accounts now under consideration, the Flood is represented as having been accompanied by hurricanes of wind, and both name a definite number of days' duration of the storm, the Gilgamesh Epic giving six days and nights and the Sumerian account giving seven days and nights; but be it noted that the Gilgamesh Epic makes the cessation of the storm come on the dawn of the seventh day.

There is also a close verbal similarity, details of which may be found in King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition*, 1918, pp. 79 ff.

According to the Sumerian account the Sun-god appears after the storm, but in the Gilgamesh Epic the beams of the Sun-god have been reduced to "daylight." In both accounts, as well as in Berossus, the sacrifice follows the appearance of light or of the god of light, and in all three accounts the hero is rewarded for his faithfulness by the gift of immortality.

The above brief survey of the three accounts, the Sumerian, the Gilgamesh Epic, and the Berossus Version, will serve to show that we have here in these three accounts one and the same story. The first account was written as early as 2000 B.C.; the second was copied from an earlier text about 650 B.C., and the third is an early Greek version of the same tale. In the Sumerian account we trace the Flood story to Sumerian times and see in it

the earliest account of the Flood found in the ancient literature of Southern Mesopotamia.

I have purposely neglected the Hilprecht Fragment because of its incompleteness. But its origin in the Cassite Dynasty and its mention of the "great ship" places it beyond doubt in the Sumerian-Gilgamesh-Berossus line of descent, the earliest being the Sumerian about 2000 B.C., the next the Hilprecht about 1600 B.C., the Gilgamesh about 650 B.C., and Berossus as late as 300 B.C.

The three remaining early Mesopotamian accounts of the Flood are: The Early Atra-hasis Version, the Late Atra-hasis Version, and the Assyrian Fragment. The last named is very fragmentary, but sufficient remains to indicate its similarity to the first two, especially in the use of the name Atra-hasis. Of course, the name Atra-hasis occurs for Utnapishtim in the last part of the Gilgamesh Epic, but that is due to Assyrian influence and to the fact that to some extent the Gilgamesh Epic, as we know it in its seventh-century form, is a composite work. In all three Assyrian or northern Mesopotamian versions, namely the Early Atra-hasis, the Late Atra-hasis, and the Assyrian Fragment, the hero is called Atra-hasis.

As Professor Clay has shown in *An Ancient Deluge Story*, pp. 18 ff., the vocabulary of the two Atra-hasis versions indicates a northern Mesopotamian origin. The names of the deities point to the same conclusion, e.g., Nisaba, the goddess of fertility, Adad, the storm god, etc.; and Atra-hasis is likewise a northern name. In both these accounts a reference is made to the multiplication of the people before the coming of the Flood. This is peculiar to the northern narratives. There is also in both an indication of the wickedness of mankind. This again is peculiar to the northern narratives. Another peculiarity is that in both these accounts the Flood is preceded by a drought. In short, these three versions, the Early Atra-hasis, written about 1966 B.C., the Late Atra-hasis, written at a very much later period, and the Assyrian, of late but uncertain date, belong together and

represent a Flood tradition which was current in northern or north-western Mesopotamia.

The fact that modern Biblical criticism divides the Old Testament narrative into two sources scarcely needs to be mentioned here. The older narrative J was compiled about 900 B.C. and the later, P, about 450 B.C. The older source was compiled before the Babylonian Captivity when the Hebrew came into so close a contact with Babylonia and southern Mesopotamia and the later narrative, P, after that event. One would expect, then, that if there is to be found any similarity at all between these various sources—Mesopotamian and Hebrew—it would be between P and the southern and between J and the northern Mesopotamian narratives. Now, this is exactly what we find.

In Gen. 6: 1, J, we read, "And it came to pass when men began to multiply." This same idea is common to the two *Atra-hasis* versions. In J (Gen. 6: 5) the "wickedness of man" corresponds to the absence of God in the Early *Atra-hasis* narrative and the implied wickedness of mankind in the Late *Atra-hasis* version. On the other hand, the details of Gen. 6: 13 ff., P, find a complete parallel in the Gilgamesh Epic, where full descriptions of the proposed ship are given. According to P (Gen. 8: 4) the Ark grounded upon a mountain. This is likewise true of the Gilgamesh Epic, but not of the northern narratives. Again, the moral purpose of the P narrative is more clearly marked than that of J, and in like manner it is in the Gilgamesh Epic that we hear Ea telling Enlil that he should have placed suffering upon the sinner and not upon an innocent person (ii. 180 ff.).

These, together with many linguistic details, too technical to be enumerated in this place, make it appear certain that from ancient Mesopotamia we have two lines of Flood traditions—a southern line leading back to Sumerian civilization and a northern line leading back to an early Semitic culture in the north or north-west. Clay, in the book mentioned at the beginning of this article, calls the northern or north-western civilization Amorite. However that may be, it seems clear that a distinct Flood story had its origin in that northern or north-western region.

All this has a bearing upon our Old Testament account. Here we have two sources or narratives. The oldest, namely J, corresponds more closely to the northern Mesopotamian narratives and was either derived from it or both were derived from a common ancestor, or, at any rate, both arose in a common atmosphere and point to a common geographical source. The latest, namely P, corresponds in remarkable detail with the southern Mesopotamian narratives. This is as it should be, for the Hebrews lived in Babylonia for about two generations and must have acquired a considerable Babylonian culture. The P narrative of our Old Testament Flood story bears marked and detailed resemblance to the Sumerian-Gilgamesh-Berossus versions, and is in reality a late Hebrew version highly coloured by, if not directly derived from, the southern Babylonian narratives. Thus, in the Old Testament account we have two sources, J and P, just as we have two ancient Mesopotamian sources, J resembling the northern Mesopotamian or *Atra-hasis* source, and P resembling the southern or Sumerian-Gilgamesh account.

An article published in this REVIEW in May, 1920, showed that our Old Testament account of Creation was completely independent, in origin, of Babylonia—was, in short, an indigenous story, having its origin in Israel itself. The present study leads us to conclude that our earlier Biblical account of the Flood is certainly Semitic in origin, and may be purely Hebraic, although this is not yet demonstrable. But the later account is found to have been extensively influenced by Babylonian narratives, although possessing its own distinct refinements. However, this composite account as it stands in our Old Testament—the result of Hebrew religious thought—is far superior in literary style, character, and religious spirit to the Mesopotamian narratives. Its literary style is direct, simple, and terse, while the Mesopotamian narratives are diffuse and complex; its character is moral, emphasising sin and salvation, while the Mesopotamian narratives are devoid of any uniformly exalted purpose, there being only one instance of moral discernment; and its strong, dig-

nified, and pure religious tone is in marked contrast to the deceit and quarrelsome character of the Mesopotamian deities. Our Biblical narratives have much in common with early Semitic Flood stories, but they possess an intrinsic power all their own—a power which even today is capable of stirring the conscience of the world and revealing a God of compassionate mercy and salvation as well as of righteousness and justice.

## JEWISH AND EARLY CHRISTIAN ORDINATION

By BURTON SCOTT EASTON, D.D., General Theological Seminary, New York

At the beginning of the Christian era the official representatives of Israel's religion in Palestine were divided into four classes, priests (including the high priest), Levites, elders and scribes. The first three classes were universally considered to have divine authorization for the functions that fell to them, functions that could be performed by no other individuals. The fourth class at this period was claiming similar authority for itself and by the end of the first century was to succeed in obtaining general recognition of its claim, but it was still confronted with tenacious resistance in certain quarters.

It is the purpose of the present monograph to investigate the nature of these offices and, more especially, the means by which men were admitted to them, in order to have an historical background for the conception of ministry and ordination in the minds of the first Christians. Curiously enough these questions have been rather neglected in the more recent study of the earliest Christian ministry.

### I

The familiar development of the priesthood in the Old Testament had resulted in the final definition of a priest as a male descendant of Aaron in a pure Jewish line. No one of different ancestry could by any possibility enter the order, so that claims to such lineage were sharply scrutinized; *cf., e.g., Josephus c. Apion. I, 7.* But when satisfactory proof had once been given, the man was recognized as a priest without further ado and there was no question of ordination. To be sure, before a priest first exercised his office in the Temple there must have been an examination into his freedom from ritual defects and a test of

his knowledge of the ritual.<sup>1</sup> And some ceremony may have been made of his first assumption of the priestly vestments. But such a ceremony (of which, as a matter of fact, nothing is really known) could have had only a devotional value<sup>2</sup> and certainly was never practiced outside of Jerusalem.

In the New Testament period, however, the priesthood had ceased to be of much religious importance, a fact evidenced clearly enough by the paucity of New Testament references to the body. In the Temple sacerdotal duties were a matter of routine, and apart from the Temple they were almost negligible.<sup>3</sup> As a class priests had no special intellectual training and, excepting a few taboos, no special sanctity of life was required. When not officiating, they wore no distinctive dress and they engaged in the same secular pursuits as their non-priestly brethren. And they had no spiritual authority among the people; the numerous religious duties that made up the routine of Jewish life each individual performed almost entirely for himself, and for advice he went to a scribe or an elder, not to a priest.

The high priestly office in the Old Testament formed a separate order, in theory devolving strictly by primogeniture, but by New Testament days this had long ceased to hold; the high priest had come to be simply a priest to whom certain special duties were delegated temporarily. Apparently the last high priest who could make any claim to legitimacy was the Alcimus of 1 Macc. 9:56, etc., but even before his day the tenure had become uncertain. After his death (ca. 160 B.C.) there was no further pretence of following the Old Testament law, and Jonathan Macabeus assumed the office by commission of Alexander Epiphanes (1 Macc. 10:21, ca. 153 B.C.). Some dozen years later a formal

<sup>1</sup> Such examinations would of course have been carried on by other priests. Rabbinic statements about scribal restrictions laid on priests are historically worthless.

<sup>2</sup> Despite any reason for it found in Lev. 8:13. The anointing ceremony described in Lev. 8:24, if it ever were really used, had a most temporary observance, probably not at all after the Exile.

<sup>3</sup> Dispensing from the Levirate marriage, presiding at the redemption of the first born and occasionally blessing the congregation were the most important.

assembly of the Jews confirmed Simon Maccabeus in the high priesthood "until there should arise a faithful prophet" (1 Macc. 14:41), and the Maccabees, who notoriously were not of correct descent, kept the dignity in their family for about a century. In B.C. 35 Herod executed the last of the line and from then on the high priest was appointed by the civil authority to serve during its pleasure.<sup>4</sup>

In practice the high priests were chosen from among the Sadducees, a comparatively small band of Jerusalem aristocrats, who together made up or included the "chief priests" of the New Testament. As they claimed descent from Zadok (hence their name), they at least represented purer lineage than the rest of the priesthood. These "chief priests" appear to have been the administrative officials of the Temple, permanently in residence at Jerusalem in contrast to the priestly rank and file, and they were well to do and of considerable political significance. But, as has been said, they in no way represented a special order.

In Old Testament theory (Lev. 8:12, Ps. 133:2, etc.) the high priest, who attained his office not by birth but after the death of his predecessor, was ordained by anointing, but at least by Maccabean days no attempt was made to carry on this practice: investiture in the sacred robes (Lev. 8:7-9) was deemed a sufficient ceremony (1 Macc. 10:21).

## 2

The Levites, of full priestly standing in pre-Exilic days, had been degraded to the rank of Temple servants and singers in the latest stages of Old Testament development. Even in the Temple, consequently, they had little importance and they had none at all elsewhere, so that they are hardly mentioned in the New Testa-

\* The Rabbinic tradition, with its usual hostility to everything connected with the Second Temple, carries the failure of the legitimate branch back to the Exile. "In the First Temple the high priests served, the son succeeding the father, and they were eighteen in number. But in the Second Temple they got the high priesthood for money, and some say they destroyed each other by witchcraft; so that some reckon eighty high priests during that period, others . . . even eighty-five" (Talm. Jer., *Yoma*, I). This is of course exaggerated, but even Alcimus' claims to legitimacy must have been vague.

ment. Like the priests they owed their privileges (such as they were) to descent and not to ordination.

## 3

The Jewish elders of this period are officials whose importance for the study of Christian origins has not been sufficiently recognized. The term of course is familiar enough in the Old Testament (*πρ*, over 100 times) and in the Apocrypha (*πρεσβύτερος* about 45 times in the official sense; no instance of *πρ* [as noun] in the Hebrew text of Sirach), where it denotes a member of the body that governed Israel as a whole or of one of the smaller local governing bodies. At first, evidently, elders were very frequently priests but in the later times (Lam. 1:19, etc.) a tendency appears to distinguish the two classes; cf. 1 Macc. 9:33, 11:23. Or the elders are distinguished from an especially authoritative inner group, the "rulers," as in Ezra 10:8, 1 Macc. 1:26, a usage that is normally reproduced in the New Testament in describing the Jerusalem Sanhedrin.<sup>6</sup>

These elders exercised their authority collectively, so much so that individual elders appear only in the story of Susanna. This very characteristic feature of Jewish policy was also extraordinarily tenacious, and the collegiate system lasts well down into New Testament times, where the groups appear under the name of sanhedrins.<sup>7</sup>

Our information for the New Testament period is fortunately fairly complete, for besides the New Testament itself, much is told in both the Mishna and Tosefta, particularly in the tractates called Sanhedrin.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The Sadducees are always named separately, generally as *ἀρχεπεῖς* but as *ἀρχοντες* in Acts 4:5, 8. Acts 4:8, 23, 23:14 and Mt. (usually) include all the other Sanhedrists as *πρεσβύτεροι*, elsewhere the scribes make a third division. Mt. 2:4 has exceptionally "chief priests and scribes."

<sup>7</sup> Apart from the Great Sanhedrin at Jerusalem local sanhedrins are mentioned in Mk. 13:9 = Mt. 10:17. Their members are named as "elders" in Lk. 7:3, as "archons" in Mt. 9:18, Lk. 18:18.

<sup>7</sup> Accessible in English in the excellent edition of Hebert Danby, *Tractate Sanhedrin: Mishnah and Tosefta* (London, S. P. C. K., 1919). The Hebrew of the Mishnah tractate is conveniently edited by Strack, *Sanhedrin-Makkoth*

The main facts are familiar and may be briefly summarized. The sanhedrins existed everywhere. In villages they had seven members, in larger places twenty-three. Jerusalem is said to have had two consultative sanhedrins of three members each, while over all was the Great Sanhedrin of seventy-one (including the high priest *ex officio*). From the lowest to the highest the functions of all these bodies were of the most general character, combining without distinction executive, legislative and judicial duties.<sup>8</sup> In every aspect, however, these functions were thought of as religious and there was no distinction drawn between secular and spiritual courts. A dispute concerning the validity of a contract, the trial of a criminal for theft or the determination of a delicate point in Sabbath observance were all to be settled by a single law, and that was the Law of God. The Old Testament contains much more than religious and moral precepts; it purports to give complete directions as to civil problems also, so that the rules governing the most material questions were regarded as matters of revealed religion. And the elders who interpreted these rules were acting as the interpreters of God's revealed will.

A further important part of the activity of these sanhedrins consisted in advising individuals who came to them for instruction about the requirements of the law (*Tosefta Sanh.* vii, 1). The ordinary Jewish layman could not be expected to have more than an elementary knowledge of the elaborate codes and the sanhedrins were consequently practical necessities if the Law was to be observed.

Again the sanhedrins had control of the local synagogue and (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1910), with vocalized text and German translation, or by S. Krauss, *The Mishnah Treatise Sanhedrin* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1909). The *Tosefta* has never been well edited; M. S. Zuckermandel's *Tosefta nach den Erfurter und Wiener Handschriften* (Pasewalk, A. Schnurr, 1880) is the best edition.

<sup>8</sup> In Galilee during Christ's ministry the activities of the sanhedrins were limited to some extent by Antipas, who had judicial officers of his own (Mk. 3:6, Lk. 12: 58 = Mt. 5: 25, and perhaps Lk. 18: 2, 6). But in Judea the Romans interfered little in local administration.

its services.<sup>9</sup> They were to all intents and purposes its trustees, and they appointed the "ruler of the synagogue," who chose the readers and speaker, etc., and the "chazan" or sexton, who assisted the ruler at service time and was custodian of the building.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Neither ruler nor chazan was ordained.

As he was also the local schoolmaster his position was not merely menial. Business sessions of the sanhedrin were held in the synagogue and minor judicial sentences, such as scourging, were carried out there (Mk. 13:9 = Mt. 10:17).

This authoritative and responsible position of the elders was further heightened by the fact that in the ordinary course of events there was no appeal from their decision. The smaller bodies, to be sure, were not permitted to hear the weightier cases (*Mishnah Sanh.* i, 1-5, etc.), but when a competent tribunal tried a case and reached a decision its verdict was final. The only recourse for an aggrieved suitor was to impeach the judges before the Jerusalem courts as "rebellious elders" (*Mishnah Sanh.* xi, 2). The charge in such an action was that the judgment was not "according to the tradition"; if sustained it resulted in a warning to the offenders not to repeat such a decision in the future under pain of death. But such actions must have been rare, for there is no provision for a stay of judgment pending appeal, not even in capital criminal cases, where the sentence was (supposedly) carried out immediately.

The "tradition" just mentioned was of course the mass of common law precedent that had grown up around the Pentateuchal legislation. Of its character not much is known in detail; by New Testament times it certainly had a strong Pharisaic coloring (*Josephus, Antt.* XVIII, i, 4 [17]), but with equal certainty it was not entirely satisfactory to the Pharisees' successors of the next couple of generations (*Mishnah Sanh.* vii, 2, "The court

\* Schürer's argument for this (*GJV*<sup>4</sup>, ii, pp. 503-504, 1909) seems conclusive. As the synagogue was the property of the whole community (*Nedarim* v, 5, *Megilla* iii, 1) it must have been administered by the regular representatives of the community. (This of course would not apply to special synagogues, such as those of foreign Jews in Jerusalem.)

at that time did not possess accurate knowledge"); nothing of course could be more unhistoric than the assumption that every Mishnic rule held in New Testament days. But, be the precise nature of this tradition what it may, it existed and was voluminous. Consequently appointment to an eldership was preceded by an extended period of study, in the latter period of which (at least) the disciple attended the court sessions regularly (*Mishnah Sanh.* iv, 4, etc.). The appointment itself according to Rabbinic theory was made either by the local sanhedrin or by the Great Sanhedrin (*Tosefta Sanh.* vii, 1), but the Roman or Herodian authority probably had the deciding voice in the matter.

The appointment ceremony is described in *Mishnah Sanh.* iv, 4 in the following words:<sup>11</sup>

"Before them sat three rows of disciples, each knowing his own place. If necessity arose to ordain, they ordained from the first row. One from the second row came then into the first and one out of the third row came into the second, and they chose one more of the congregation and set him in the third row."

שלש שורות של תלמידי חכמים יושבין לפניהם ובב אחד ואחד מכיר את מקומו. צרכו לסתור סומכון מן הראשונה אחר מן השניה כאלו לראשונה ואחד בסען השלישית כאלו שלניה וברין להן עוזר אחד מן הקהל ומושיבן אותו בשלישית.

[The text is Strack's, but there are no significant variants.]

The verb translated here "ordain" is, then, סִמְךָ, the technical term (48 times) in the Old Testament for the imposition of hands, almost always to imply consecration; it is distinguished very carefully from the verb above translated "chose," which is בָּרַךְ, used in this sense in such late Old Testament passages as 1 Chron. 9:22, etc. (The distinction deserves greater emphasis than is given it by Danby, who renders the first verb by "appoint.") In particular, סִמְךָ is the verb used of the formal ordination of Joshua as Moses' successor (Num. 27:18, 23, Deut. 34:9) and here undoubtedly we have what was made the justification of the practice; just as Joshua was consecrated to take the

<sup>11</sup> In Danby's translation, p. 75, the numeral indicating the fourth paragraph has been accidentally omitted. It should be inserted after the words "taking down both."

place of Moses, so the new elder-elect was consecrated to take the place of the one who had preceded him.

This is genuine ordination. To be sure, it would be unjust to Jewish thinking to seek for theological implications in the act beyond the most obvious ideas, for Judaism took almost a pride in performing its ritual "because of the commandment" without reflecting on possible implications. Certainly there may have been little thought of a gift of the Holy Spirit, although Deut. 34:9 leaves the conception of such a gift as a possibility. But it is to be noted that on the promotion of an elder to a higher sanhedrin the ordination was not repeated; he was simply "caused to sit" (מִשְׁבָּצֵן) among his new colleagues (*Tosefta Sanh.* vii, 1, quoting R. Jose b. Chalaftha [ca. A.D. 150]; Zuckerman's ed., p. 425, lines 2, 18).

Of difference in rank in the extra-Jerusalem sanhedrins we know nothing, not even if they had a regular president; the New Testament evidence (so far as it goes) rather suggests the contrary. But the Great Sanhedrin was presided over by the high priest who stood apart from the other members, being compared to Moses surrounded by the seventy elders (*Mishnah Sanh.* i, 6, quoting Num. 11:16).

The scribes, of entirely informal origin, by the beginning of our era had attained a position of immense influence. From their own standpoint they were the only true teachers of the Law, the sole guardians of the pure and divinely authorized tradition. Their constant effort was to force acceptance of this tradition on the nation, an aim that they furthered partly by constant propaganda, partly by acquiring official rank as elders from which they could speak authoritatively. Their power in the Great Sanhedrin has been mentioned already, and they doubtless figured in the smaller sanhedrins also, although their numbers were insufficient to give them any numerical preponderance there.

Yet as long as the Temple stood their position was always short of their desires and their full opportunity did not come until

A.D. 70, when in the general wreck they were the only party with trained leaders and a clear program. Under the direction of R. Johanan b. Zakkai and his able lieutenants the nation was rapidly reorganized as a people now governed by the scribal tradition. That is, the scribes replaced the elders.

There were differences, of course. Rome's new laws for Palestine swept away the civil functions formerly exercised by the sanhedrins and the authority of the scribes was only what the people were willing to accept voluntarily. This proved, however, to be very considerable; civil questions as well as religious were brought to the scribes for solution and the scribal decisions accepted as binding. And the importance of the individual scribe was heightened by the fact that he gave personal decisions. Scribes were too few in number to form colleges generally; at Jamnia there gathered a group that took over some of the authority of the Great Sanhedrin, but many places could not boast the presence of even a single scribe.

Otherwise, as has been said, the scribes simply replaced the elders. That from this time on scribes were regularly ordained by imposition of hands is mentioned in *Tosefta Sanh.* i, 1 as a custom of long standing, "The Semika is to be decided by three סמיכה בשלשה, Zuckerman, p. 414, l. 36).<sup>12</sup> The subsequent history of Jewish ordination is clear enough but goes outside the limits of the present study.<sup>13</sup> Whether scribes were ordained before A.D. 70, however, is uncertain. No concrete evidence exists either way and à priori considerations are hazardous. Perhaps the scribes took up the rite only after they replaced the elders. Perhaps their sense of their own importance led them at an earlier time to inaugurate members with as much solemnity as an elder was inaugurated.

<sup>12</sup> This practice is sometimes quoted as accounting for the Christian use of three officiants at an episcopal consecration, but this custom derives from a much later time when there was no possibility of Jewish influence.

<sup>13</sup> Cf., e.g., "Ordination, Jewish" in *ERE* (by M. Gaster, 1917) or "Ordination" in *Jewish Enc.* (by J. Z. Lauterbach, 1905).

## EXTRA-PALESTINIAN CONDITIONS

Priests, Levites and scribes here offer no problem; the conditions were the same as in Palestine barring only such functions as could not be performed away from the Holy Land or from Jerusalem.

More can be said about the elders. The Jews of each locality were organized rather fully<sup>14</sup> and the Palestinian model seems to have been followed as closely as local conditions would permit, except in the matter of nomenclature. Each community was administered by a collegiate body, the *γερουσία*; cf., especially, Philo, *In Flacc.* x (73), and Josephus, *Antt.* VII, x, 1 (412). But the members of this body are rarely called "elder"; the usual word is simply "ruler" (*ἀρχων*). And (probably) the necessity of having a single representative who could deal with the civil authorities led to the appearance of a regular presiding officer, the *γερουσιάρχης*.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the evidence for "elder" prior to the fourth Christian century seems limited to the *Epistle of Aristeas*, 310 (ca. 100 B.C.), although Juster (i, p. 446, note 1) quotes an undated and illiterate inscription from Elchis that includes the noun. This extreme scarcity of occurrences, despite the abundant Jewish material, puzzles both Schürer and Juster, who assume that the word must have been in common use. So they argue that it may have been applied to members of the gerousia who were not archons or, in other words, that "elder" was a purely honorary title. But this explanation is most unsatisfactory; even purely honorary titles are frequent in inscriptions, while in extra-Palestinian localities the division of the gerousia into archons and non-archons (= elders) is supported by no evidence.

A much simpler explanation can be reached by the following considerations. *πρεσβύτερος* as the title of an official was not good

<sup>14</sup> Details most fully in *GJV*4, iii, pp. 71-121 (1909) or in Juster, *JER*, *passim* (1914).

<sup>15</sup> Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, p. 360 (1909). The term generally occurs in Latin transliteration and is especially frequent in Rome. Poland notes that it seems to be used exclusively by Jews.

Greek; the word in literary usage means simply "older." Rank might be denoted by the poetic *πρεσβύτος* or (more commonly) by *πρεσβυτής*, but for the most part words of different derivation, generally compounds of *ἀρχ-*, were preferred. Two articles<sup>16</sup> in *ZNTW*, iv (1903) give about the only known non-Jewish instances of *πρεσβύτερος* in an official sense. All are in Egypt; in one case the title is borne by some local officials, in the other by the governors of a guild.<sup>17</sup>

Now it cannot be too strongly emphasized that Hellenistic Jews had no specific Greek dialect of their own; they spoke Greek, simply. No doubt there were terms in their religion that had no Greek equivalents, for which they had to use Greek words in an un-Greek way or even to invent forms. No doubt the peculiarities of the Septuagint colored the language of the less educated to some extent. But Jews generally would not use unliterary forms when literary forms were at hand, and "archon" was literary, while "elder" was not.

In Palestine things would be different, for the Greek spoken there was a translation language, and the tendency would be to represent Hebrew or Aramaic words by the most direct Greek equivalent. So, as in Hebrew and Aramaic both, the local officials were called "elders," a Palestinian speaking Greek would naturally call them *πρεσβύτεροι*. But the terminology would have a barbarous sound to Hellenistic Jews from the outer world and they would avoid it; it would be a constant source of offence to sensitive ears and would require continual explanation. Just so today the religious vocabulary of a cultured English-speaking Jew differs from that of his less educated brethren who are still

<sup>16</sup> Max L. Strack, "Die Müllerinung in Alexandrien," pp. 213-234, and H. Hauschildt, "Πρεσβύτεροι in Ägypten im I-III Jahrhundert n. Chr.," pp. 235-242.

<sup>17</sup> E. Hatch in his famous *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, p. 65 (1881), quotes evidence to show that in Asia Minor there were officials known as elders. But this is quite wrong; the persons in question were not officials at all but actually old men, who had been granted certain privileges by the emperors. These "old men's clubs"—to which certain "youths' clubs" and "young men's clubs" corresponded—were regularly organized to aid in governmental stability. Cf. Poland, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-102, 373.

in contact with the Yiddish world. The former even tends to avoid so Jewish a term as "synagogue," using "congregation" or "temple" in its place.

That is, the "archons" of Hellenistic Judaism were simply the "elders" of Palestinian Judaism, neither more nor less, just as the *γέροντα* was simply the sanhedrin. And the duties of archons and elders would be the same, barring the natural restrictions that came from the different conditions. As to ordination in the Hellenistic world nothing whatever is known, but there is no reason to suppose that it differed from the Palestinian practice, since the religious duties inside and outside of Palestine were identical.

One class of officials appears outside of Palestine that had no Palestinian equivalents, the *ἀπόστολοι* (*מַנְנָנִים*),<sup>18</sup> who carried encyclical letters throughout the Empire, brought special directions, etc., to the local bodies, and carried back to Palestine the offerings of the people. Evidence for their existence does not begin until after A.D. 70, but their duties would have been as important before that date as after it and their earlier employment may be safely assumed (so usually). But there is no evidence that they were ordained and no reason to suppose they would be.

<sup>18</sup> Details best in *GJV*\*, iii, 119-120. *JER*, i, 388-390, 405.

## THE MENACE OF THE SERMON

### A REVIEW OF SOME RECENT BOOKS

By GEO. CRAIG STEWART, Evanston, Illinois

*Preaching as a Fine Art.* By R. Cotton Smith. New York: Macmillan, 1922,  
pp. xvi + 46. 75 cents.

*The Victory over Victory.* By J. A. Hutton. New York: Doran, 1922, pp.  
x + 261. \$1.75 net.

*Types of Preachers in the New Testament.* By A. T. Robertson. New York:  
Doran, 1922, pp. 238. \$1.60 net.

*Confessions of an Old Priest.* By S. D. McConnell. New York: Macmillan,  
1922, pp. 124. \$1.25.

"The root of the evil," says Francis Clark in the *Yale Review* (Oct. 1922), "the root of the evil of scant attendance at Church is the sermon, yet not the poor sermon, or the poor minister who is so often made the scapegoat. It is the worship of the sermon instead of the worship of God, it is the sermon idolatry which we must chiefly blame for the really deplorable condition of many churches. This sermon idolatry is perhaps more often found in the non-liturgical churches. The Roman Catholics and the Episcopalians set less store by the sermon, as our fathers would phrase it, than those that are independent of the Prayer-Book."

This is a very canny observation by Dr. Clark and we agree with him. But on behalf of the Episcopal Church we may be permitted to add a foot-note to that last paragraph. *The Episcopalians set altogether too little store by the sermon. Their clergy are ever in danger of exalting the priestly and pastoral office at the expense of the prophetic ministry.*

"*Preaching as a Fine Art*" needs fresh emphasis. The little book is a welcome contribution to contemporary homiletics. *The Preacher as an Artist*, and *The Artist's Tools* are admirable subjects for these two lectures which are short and sensible and lively in expression. The faculty and students of our Divinity Schools in Alexandria, Cambridge and New York must have enjoyed

them. The distinguished author does not need the "vestibule remarks" by Gerald Stanley Lee who writes "a kind of glossed-over obituary," called an introduction.

Of the fine art of preaching Dr. John A. Hutton is one of the great living exemplars. A new volume of his sermons is usually a stimulus, and yet "*The Victory over Victory*" is not up to his standard of excellence. The first thirteen sermons have Old Testament texts and the final fourteen have texts from the New Testament. Each theme is happily illumined by the text, but the sermons themselves are dull. Under the spell of the preacher himself his listeners may have been swept by heavenly winds and kindled by Pentecostal fires, but here are dead words. The prophet does not come striding down from the height, and into your presence with a soul-shaking "Thus saith the Lord!" The sermons lack big vision and authoritative challenges, and that spirit of superlative triumph which is to be found mainly in the title itself.

Sometimes we wonder whether the publisher pays someone to provide an attractive title for a dull book. Certain it is that someone with more imagination than judgment writes the advertising covers. Here, for example, is a book which bears upon its wrapper the following allurements: "A Life-Like Portrayal of New Testament Characters by a modern master of Biblical Interpretation. Dr. Blank paints the portraits of some of the men and women who charm us most in the New Testament story. Every detail is seized upon that will give color to the picture. The author's real scholarship is reflected in the unfamiliar and original incidents and interpretations. The result is a fresh study that grips the mind and heart. The book tingles with life, etc., etc. The human stuff stands out clearly and strongly, etc., etc."

As a matter of fact the book thus advertised, *Types of Preachers in the New Testament*, is not at all what the cover writer describes. Scholarship is there, but neither color nor tingle. It was never designed to be a series of life-like portraits, but only the

cartoons from which portraits may be developed. The human stuff doesn't stand out clearly but rather the anatomical sketches which the imaginative artist may clothe. Apollos and Barnabas; Aquila and Priscilla; James, Philemon, Stephen, Lydia, Silas, and Titus, and Timothy; Thomas, Philip, Matthew; Judas, Diotrephes, Epaphroditus—these are subjects of a series of studies such as might be contributed to a Biblical Encyclopedia or to a technical journal. Indeed we note that a number of the chapters have thus appeared in *The Biblical Review*, *The Expositor*, *The Methodist Review*, *The Moody Monthly*, and *The Record of Christian Work*. They are excellent of their kind, but make no mistake, they are not portraits done after the manner of say Gamaliel Bradford.

But to return to our original text, the greatest menace to the Church after all is not "the menace of the sermon"—it is the menace of unreality. To say the creed and not believe what you are saying; to whisper "I don't believe" or "I used to believe" when your honest congregation is saying "I believe"; to adopt of necessity a policy of evasion in your sermons for Christmas Day and Easter Day; to read the account of miracles in the Holy Gospels with your tongue in your cheek; to deny your ordination vows and still continue your ministry; to have made shipwreck of the faith and still want to keep your pilot's license; in short to seem to be what your are not—this is indeed a menace to the Church.

"*The Confessions of an Old Priest*" is a pathetic little book, for what is more pathetic than an aged priest who has lost his faith. This is the whole story of the one hundred and twenty-four pages. Why he lost it is not disclosed. Certainly the feeble reasons submitted in the nineteen brief chapters would disturb no modern thoughtful believer. It is old straw which is threshed out, and useless for either bricks or thatch in the building up of the Church. Dr. McConnell evidently closed his intellectual development with Geo. Tyrrell and Abbe Loisy and became not only Rector-Emeritus, but thinker-emeritus as well. But if he had his life to live over we venture one startling guess,

and we believe his "Confessions" justify it. He would be a Catholic Churchman and not a "Broad." He notes that "Christianity moves in one direction, toward Sacramentalism. Fifty years ago the Episcopal Church was Protestant, today it is not. The Protestant element in the Church is recalcitrant and deplores the tendency. It strives to bring the Church back again to the Protestant attitude. It strives in vain." "The movement," he says, "is not the result of conspiracy or even of conscious intent but of an unseen force which no man can estimate or withstand. . . . The center of religion is the idea of a suffering God. . . . In mystic union with the dying and reviving Saviour—God, is the soul's life. . . . Probably the most sufficient expression is to be found in the Mass."

And so "the heart has reasons which the reason doesn't know." And so if this aged priest could live longer he might regain his faith as a Catholic which as a Protestant he has lost.

And surely our tender mother, the Church, will deal very gently with this servant of God who like Amiel says:

"My creed has melted away, but I believe in good, in the moral order and in salvation: religion is for me to live and die in God, in complete abandonment to the holy will which is at the root of nature and destiny. I believe in the Gospel, the Good News, that is to say, faith in the love of a pardoning Father." Only it is to be remembered that this plaintive echo of poor Amiel is not Christianity, is not the faith of apostles and martyrs, is not that which has overcome the world, and we repeat that the greatest menace to the Church is an apostate leadership.

## CRITICAL NOTE

### M'DINAH AND Πόλις

By J. F. SPRINGER, New York City

Some interest attaches to the words *m'dinah* and *πόλις* because of their relation to the Synoptic question as to whether the narrative parts of the Infancy Section of Luke have back of them a Semitic original. The expression *eis πόλιν Ἰουδα* (Lk. 1.39) has been adduced as the one and only sure proof of such an original that had been brought forward up to the time of the statement (1909).<sup>1</sup> This "sure proof" is perhaps sufficiently refuted by the fact that the Semitism involved, if the words be regarded as having the sense, *into a city of the tribe of Judah* or *into a city of the land of Judah*, is so readily explained as an original statement on the ground that non-Semitic writers impregnated with Semitic modes of expression would ever and anon reproduce such forms even when writing their native language. There is, in fact, no necessity to see in the expression an example of a mistranslation. In short, *eis πόλιν Ἰουδα* can not be claimed as substantial evidence of a Semitic original. Nevertheless, the part assigned by Professor Torrey to *m'dinah*, in his effort to establish a Semitic background, is so considerable that it may be well to examine its history to some extent.

In quite ancient times, the Semitic *m'dinah* had the meaning *country, province, territory*. In modern times, this sense is obsolete and the word now means *city*, as witness the Arabic *Medina*, City (of the Prophet). Some intervening period must have been transitional, when both significations were more or less current. Did this transitional period overlap or include the time when the Third Gospel was written? Professor Torrey, in effect, claims that an affirmative answer should be given.

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 15 (1909), p. 260.

That is, his explanation of *eis πόλιν Ἰούδα* requires (1) a Semitic original penned by someone who had in mind the sense *land* and (2) a Greek translation made by one who understood the word to mean *city*. A step further may be taken—The transitional period may be extended to include the times of the current use of some such possibly stereotyped form as *land of Judah*, in which *m'dinah* occurred. Professor Torrey cites *Midrash Echa* (I. 2) as containing an example of the persistence of *m'dinah* in the sense *country* in a stereotyped form. This document is understood to have originated no earlier than the second Christian century.

The foregoing is an understandable, though unnecessary, explanation, provided the transitional period can be fixed in NT times. The citation from *Midrash Echa* shows that *m'dinah* might be conjoined with *Judah* to mean *land of Judah*, as late as, say, the second Christian century. But we do not know that this use of *m'dinah* was not entirely current and that it was dependent for its existence at this time upon the persistence of an old form. The example may simply indicate that *m'dinah* still had the sense *land*, the conjunction with *Judah* having no significance. However, the citation reduces what Professor Torrey has to prove. It is only necessary to show that *m'dinah* was current in NT times in the sense *city*, in order to make it clear that his explanation of *eis πόλιν Ἰούδα* is a possible, though unnecessary, one.

Can *m'dinah* be shown to have had the sense *city* in the first Christian century? I doubt it. The currency of a word at a particular period may be shown in several ways—(1) by the citation of instances from several contemporaries—say, three; (2) by the citation of two instances, one dating from a time considerably before and the other from a time considerably after the period in question; and (3) by the citation of a few instances from contemporaries and in addition a single instance dating from a time before or after the period. The evidence must thus in some way involve the period. It is not enough to cite a group of instances, however numerous the authors may be, if these writers are re-

moved from the period by substantial time intervals, all prior or all subsequent. The only method, apparently, which permits the absence of contemporary instances is No. 2. Assuming this analysis of the requirements for proof as both correct and sufficiently exhaustive, we readily see that the removal of prior and contemporaneous instances which have been, or may be, cited as occurrences of *m'dinah* in the sense *city* will result in the failure of the claim for so early a date for this sense as the first Christian century.

There is one single citation from a pre-Christian century. This is in connection with Dn. 11.24. It is suggested that the LXX πόλιν is a translation of the Semitic word under consideration and shows that the signification *city* was prevalent in the second century B.C.

This, however, can not be maintained, as the individual Greek and Hebrew words can not be made precisely to correspond. "He shall come upon the fattest places of the province" may perhaps exactly correspond with the LXX wording ἐρημώσει πόλιν; but, even so, this will not justify equating *m'dinah* and πόλιν. The prior instance thus fails.

The *Megillat Taanit* or *Roll Concerning Fasts*, an Aramaic document of the first Christian century, is cited as affording an instance of the use of טוֹרֵנָה in the sense *city*. If this claim could be made good, a substantially contemporary instance would be set up. The particular expression adduced is מְרוּנָה כִּיקִים which is thought to mean *city of Chalcis*. The only place in the document where such an expression as the Aramaic one cited is to be found is in the twelfth section. Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 700, renders the passage containing it: "On the 17th rose the heathen against the remnant of the Scribes in the country of Chalcis and of the Zebedæans, and Israel was delivered." There is, apparently, some doubt as to whether the reading should be *Chalcis* or something else; but none as to the occurrence of *m'dinah*, here translated *country* and claimed by Professor Torrey to have the sense *city*. There is really no rea-

son to depart from the signification *country*, the sense usually attributed to the word both in the Hebrew and the Aramaic of the OT. *Chalcis* might be thought to demand such a departure. There were in the ancient world six or more localities of this name. Thus, we have a city on the island of Eubœa, a mountain and a city in Ætolia, a city and perhaps a country in the region to the south and east of Antioch in Syria, and a city and principality some twenty-five or thirty miles to the northwest of Damascus in the direction of Beirut. This last fits the requirements of the text very well. In *1 Macc.* 11.30, 31 we read that Jonathan ceased from pursuing a certain army which had retreated across the River Eleutheros, that turning aside he attacked the Arabians called Zabadeans (*Ζαβαδαίος*), smote them, and took their booty; and that he then resumed his march and went into Damascus. These operations were accordingly all of them carried out in the district lying between Damascus and the Eleutheros at the northern limit of Hollow Syria. The name of the Arabians is, apparently, still preserved in the plain, mount, and village of Zebedani. In *Josephus, Antiq.* 14.3.2 (14.40), we find a city Chalcis not far distant from Damascus but beyond a mountain at the border of Hollow Syria. Agrippa I severed from his own dominions and bestowed upon Herod, his elder brother, a kingdom called Chalcis: *δωρεῖται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡράδην . . . βασιλείᾳ τῇ Χαλκίδῃ, Wars*, 2.11.15 (2.217). There are at least two other passages in Josephus, where this kingdom of Chalcis is mentioned as such: *Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἡράδοι τελευτὴν, ὃς ἥρχε τῆς Χαλκίδος, καθίστησιν Κλαύδιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θείου τὸν Ἀγρίππαν νιὸν Ἀγρίππα, Ibid., 2.12.1* (2.223); and *ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος Ἀγρίππαν εἰς μείζονα βασιλείαν μετατίθησιν, Ibid., 2.12.8* (2.247).

So, then, the expression מִקְלָת תַּנִּינָה in the *Megillat Taanit* may very well have meant, and probably did mean, βασιλεία τῆς Χαλκίδος or βασιλεία ἡ Χαλκίς. In view of the foregoing discussion, the contemporary instance can not be maintained.

With removal of the prior and contemporary citations, the proposition that *m'dinah* was current in the first Christian century in the sense *city* fails of support necessary for its maintenance.

An effort has, however, been made to make Symmachus, a translator of the OT flourishing at about 200 A.D., testify in favor of a pretty complete replacement, in his day, of the signification *region* by *city*. In particular, 3 Ki. 21(20).14 and Dn. 8.2 have been cited. In both passages, Symmachus uses *πόλις* for *m'dinah*. To these may perhaps be added Dn. 3.2 and 12. That this translator should reject the rendering *χώρα*, especially that of the LXX and perhaps also that of Theodotion, would conform with his reputed character of translating old Hebrew in accordance with meanings current in his own day. The Semitic word did acquire, at some period or other, the signification of *city*, and there appears to be no known instance of Symmachus rendering *m'dinah* by *χώρα* or any other word certainly having the sense of *region*. These considerations tend to favor the theory that he erred—that is, that he rejected a meaning obsolete in his own time and employed one that was then current in translating the Hebrew that had come down to him from a more ancient day. If this result could be thoroughly established and *m'dinah* shown to have had in 200 A.D. for general purposes no other sense than *city*, then one would be entitled to say that at some prior period, and so perhaps a period inclusive of the days of Luke, the word must have had the two meanings current. The replacement could hardly have taken place suddenly. However, the evidence has not yet been fully set forth.

In our Hebrew text, in the passage 1 Ki. 20.14–19, the expression translated “(the) young men of the princes of the provinces,” occurs four times, the same group of persons being evidently referred to in all. In these, *m'dinah* is continually the word represented by *provinces*. The LXX is here witnessed to principally by B and A. The text of A clings very closely to the Hebrew, much more closely in fact than B,<sup>2</sup> and yet we have *πόλεων* used upon the first occurrence and *χωρῶν* upon each of

<sup>2</sup> Thus, in verse 15, A omits 'Αχαΐα, has τὸν λαὸν σύμπαντα instead of simply τὸν λαὸν, and has ἐπτά χιλιάδας instead of ἑξήκοντα; in verse 17, it has ἀπέστειλεν νίσι 'Αδερ καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ instead of καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ Συρίας; and in verse 18, it has εἰ... διὰ and omits οὐ γάρ.

the others. This is quite strong evidence that the translator responsible for the text of A, or perhaps a corrector responsible for its closeness of approach to the Hebrew, thought that either *πόλις* or *χώρα* could be used to represent *m'dinah*. That is to say, since we can not very well suppose that he employed *χώρα* in the sense *city*, he very probably used *πόλις* to express the sense *province*. However, the date can not very well be determined, even approximately. It falls somewhere in the interval between 250 B.C. and 450 A.D. All this suggests that Symmachus may have used *πόλις* in the sense of *χώρα*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Whether or not, in the time of Luke, *πόλις* included amongst its meanings a sense substantially equivalent to that of *χώρα*, I have been unable to settle with any finality. The evidence in favor of such inclusion extends from Homer down to writers living as late as the third pre-Christian century. In fact, one item of favorable evidence originated at some unknown point of time in the period 250 B.C.-450 A.D. This item, and two others dating from the fourth and third pre-Christian centuries, are from prose writings. The foregoing evidence *for* is opposed by certain items tending to indicate that in the Apostolic period *πόλις* had ceased to have the meaning *country* or *district*. That is to say, Strabo at about the beginning of the first century of our era and Julius Pollux in the second century are aware of an older and poetic usage in this sense, but apparently know nothing of a contemporaneous one. The whole matter is, accordingly, inconclusive. At the same time, the door is certainly left open for an explanation of a use by Symmachus of *πόλις* in the sense of *χώρα*.

I disregard in the foregoing discussion Markland's idea that an extensive region named *Δεκάπολις* in Mk. 5.20 is equivalent to *πόλις* in Lk. 8.39, since the latter word may very well refer to a nearby one of the ten cities; and also my own inability to locate a clear instance of the usage subsequent to the Christian Era.

The principal passages depended upon follow.

Poetry: Homer, *Iliad*, 14.230; Stesichorus (uncertain which one), referred to by Strabo, *Geographica*, 8.3.31; Æschylus, *Persæ*, 781; Sophocles, *Mysi* referred to by Strabo, *ibidem*; Euripides, *Ion* 294, *Andromache*, 1152f (1178f) (1175f), *Rhadamanthus*, apud Strabo, *ibidem*, *Temenidae*, apud Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 9.27.

Prose: Lysias, 103.38; Aristophanes Grammaticus, *Scholium on Medea* of Euripides, *Scholia Græca in Euripidis Tragædias*, Gulielmus Dindorfius, tomus 4, p. 7 (*ἡ Κέρυκος*, twice used, is to be identified with Ephuria the older name of the portion of Æetes given him by his father Helios, as is indicated by comparing Pausanias, 2.1.1 and 2.3.10); LXX (A) 3 Ki. 21(20).14; Strabo, *ibidem*; Julius Pollux, *ibidem*.

Turning to the case of Dn. 8.2, we find that, while there is no direct authority to warrant us in claiming that Symmachus substituted πόλει for χώρᾳ in the LXX phrase ἐν Ἐλυμαΐδι χώρᾳ, still the language of Jerome seems to require either ἐν πόλει Αἰλάμ or ἐν Ἐλυμαΐδι πόλει: "*In Elam regione . . . sive, ut Symmachus interpretatus est, civitate.*" It is claimed that Symmachus was here guilty of a mistranslation. This is a good deal to grant, especially in view of the fact that he must be assumed to have had the LXX before him and probably Theodotion, in both of which texts χώρᾳ is employed. He would not merely have had to make a mistranslation but to make it with the correct rendering before him. If, as is probable, Theodotion antedated him, there was available a correct rendering not much earlier than his own translation of the book. But the error, if error it be, involves bad geographico-historical knowledge as well. Nay, it involves even more. The LXX expressly states, and correctly states, that Susa the city was in the Elamite country, and Theodotion uses the noun Αἰλάμ and not the corresponding adjective. That is, Symmachus was presumably advised in rather express terms that Elam was a country. Furthermore, information as to Elam is to be found elsewhere in the Hebrew OT, in one or two passages, too, which he had presumably already translated. See particularly Jr. 25.25.

One might conceive of Symmachus making an error in translating I Ki. 20.14f because of a lack of prior instruction from the LXX as to the ancient meaning of *m'dinah*; but the situation in Dn. 8.2 is quite different. Without making any assumptions as to whether this book was translated by Symmachus before or after any other given book, one may still view it as reasonable that the translation of the book itself proceeded regularly from the beginning on to the end. There are quite a number of instances prior to 8.2 in which the LXX translator records his conception of the sense of *m'dinah*. It is translated by χώρᾳ in 3.1, 2, 3, 12, 30(97). Theodotion translates similarly in 2.48, 49, 3.1, 2, 3, 12, 30(97). It is reasonable to assume that Symmachus

had both translations before him. If he had, then we must conclude that he was incapable of receiving instruction as to the ancient meaning of *m'dinah*, or else that some other explanation than obsolescence is the true one.

The facts relating to 3 Ki. 21.14, Dn. 8.2 and other passages would seem to be quite as easily, if not more easily, explained otherwise than they can be on the assumption of mistakes in the understanding of old Hebrew coupled with a resistance to corrective information. It is only necessary to assume that "province, district, region," were current significations of  $\pi\delta\lambda\sigma$  in the time of Symmachus. In short, this explanation gives support to the objections I have raised against Symmachus having made errors, the result being that it is not at all certain that for him the meaning *city* had displaced the meaning *province*, about 200 A.D.

But even if Symmachus be allowed to have entertained the idea that *m'dinah* could only mean *city*, he remains a single authority. This is insufficient to establish the case. The final result is, accordingly, this: A solitary authority is inadequate for the establishment of the replacement of one sense of a word by another sense in the minds of the generality of users of the language; and, in the present case, it is decidedly uncertain whether we have even the one authority.

We may sum up as follows the foregoing investigation as to the question whether in the first Christian century *m'dinah* had the sense *city*:

The single instance adduced dating from a pre-Christian century is the use by the LXX translator of Daniel of  $\pi\delta\lambda\sigma$  in Dn. 11.24. This instance fails because  $\pi\delta\lambda\sigma$  can not be equated with *m'dinah*. This leaves us *without a prior instance*.

The contemporary instance cited from the *Megillat Taanit* (section 12) can not be maintained because the reference is very probably to the kingdom, not city, of Chalcis. The attempt to cite Symmachus as a witness to the existence of the sense *city* as the only current one about 200 A.D. is beset with difficulty. Even if successful, this attempt would be inconclusive because it would

only give at most a single writer testifying to a first century use of *m'dinah* in the sense *city*. Accordingly, we have at best no more than the equivalent of *one contemporaneous author*.

With no prior instance and but a single contemporaneous one, there remains only a very inadequate foundation upon which to base a claim for the sense *city* in the first Christian century.

Naturally, the hypothesis of a Semitic original back of the connecting narrative in the Infancy Section of the Third Gospel can not be based upon what is itself only a poorly supported hypothesis. If hypothesis is to be reared on hypothesis, then the supporting one should itself be firmly founded.

## NOTES, COMMENTS, AND PROBLEMS

In "Twenty Paragraphs about the World Conference on Faith and Order," compiled by Ralph W. Brown, one can find in summary form the most salient features and facts about the origin, development, and history of the famous "Conference on Faith and Order." This pamphlet, as well as others about the World Conference, can be had, free of charge from Robert H. Gardiner, 174 Water Street, Gardiner, Maine. *S. A. B. M.*

Students of Apocalyptic in Biblical and Christian literature will be interested to know that the earliest extant example of this class of literature is to be found, in the Sumerian language, in Gudea's dream-vision. The best and only easily accessible translation of Gudea Cylinder A, in which the apocalypse occurs, is Thureau-Dangin, *Sumerischakkadische Königsinschriften*, Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1907. It would be interesting to trace the history of Apocalyptic from the time of Gudea to that of St. John.

*S. A. B. M.*

The doctrine of individual responsibility is supposed to have been enunciated for the first time among Old Testament writers by Jeremiah and developed by Ezekiel. But what about the Gilgamesh Epic, XI, 184-185, where we translate, "On the sinner lies his sin, on the transgressor lies his transgression"? The context shows that the subject of individual responsibility was clearly in the mind of the author. Compare Gilg. Epic, XI, 180-194 with Ezek. 14: 12-20. Here is a problem in ethical origins which ought to be studied. *S. A. B. M.*

The Earl of Carnarvon has recently made some sensational finds in the famous Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, in Egypt. But it still remains to be seen whether his discoveries include anything of special literary or religious value.

*S. A. B. M.*

With the approval of the "High Commissioner of Palestine" an organized effort is to be made to excavate and lay open to the world the historic City of David on Mount Ophel. The possibilities of discoveries of far-reaching importance to all Christians are many. *S. A. B. M.*

Students of theology and philosophy, in their desire to keep abreast of the best and most recent periodical literature on their subject, can not do better than to procure and use "The Subject Index to Periodicals" published by *The Library Association*, Stapley House, Bloomsbury Square, London. The issue of 1920, printed in 1922, comprises 2,100 entries obtained from the examination of 270 periodicals. *S. A. B. M.*

It is with the deepest feeling of regret that we record the death of a personal friend and a great man, James Hastings, D.D. Dr. Hastings died on October 15th, 1922. His works are too well known to be enumerated here. I suppose his best-known work is the *Dictionary of the Bible*, although his greatest work is one which he had just finished, namely, the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. He died in harness, for proofs of the October number of *The Expository Times* were found upon his desk after his death. An interesting account of his life and work is to be found in the December number of *The Expository Times*. *S. A. B. M.*

In the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1922, the Rev. F. J. Badcock has a valuable study of the old Roman Creed. He seems to show conclusively that the Creed used in Rome at the end of the fourth century, as Rufinus knew it, was that, substantially, of Marcellus of Ancyra; hence it represents the faith of Central Asia Minor. *F. H. H.*

The first part of volume three of *The Pilgrim* has just appeared, and it contains an interesting article on Coué and St. Paul by the editor, Bishop Temple, of Manchester. In it he contests Coué's use of the term "Will," and insists that the conflict is not

between Imagination and what Coué calls "Will," but rather between "Will" and Thought or between Works and Faith. The article is stimulating and should be read before adopting the new cult. *S. A. B. M.*

In the July-September number of the *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, Lausanne, Robert Werner describes "Partis et conflits d'idées dans l'anglicanisme contemporain." He begins by expressing surprise at the great variety of opinions in the Church of England, then gives a short historical account of Anglo-Catholics, Modernists, and Evangelicals, and concludes, "Nous partons trop souvent du point de vue qu'il n'y a que deux formes de christianisme ecclésiastique: la forme catholique et la forme protestante. C'est la une erreur; il existe une Église chrétienne qui est vivante et qui n'est ni catholique au sens 'romain' du mot, ni protestante au sens 'continental,' mais qui représente dans son essence, quelque chose de plus compréhensif que le catholicisme et que le protestantisme historique." *A. H. F.*

In the *Expositor* of June, 1922, Professor Cadbury argues that the last sentence of St. Luke's preface means—that you may realize the facts as to those matters on which you have received (hostile) information. This meaning is well supported from other places in which St. Luke uses the words of the sentence, especially Acts xxi. 21 and xxii. 30. By this interpretation, Theophilus was not a "catechumen" but an Imperial officer who has received a misleading account of the "Beginnings of Christianity" and whom St. Luke is setting right. In a second article of December, 1922, Professor Cadbury maintains that the word παρηκολουθησότι in the same preface refers to first-hand contemporary evidence and does not mean investigate. Of this last meaning which appears in the R.V. "traced the course of" he says, "It is nearly as difficult to find any modern protest against it as to find any ancient evidence to support it." The preface may therefore belong to the Acts as well as to the Gospel and in it the author may be claiming to be an actual eyewitness of what he

records, *i.e.*, it is another argument for finding the author of the two volumes in the diarist of Acts xvi. 10, etc. *A. H. F.*

In America rather slight attention has been paid to the centenary of the decipherment of hieroglyphics. On Sept. 27, 1822, Jean François Champollion presented to the Académie des Inscriptions his completed work. The anniversary has been marked in various ways abroad, especially by the sketch, *Die Entzifferung der Hieroglyphen*, presented to the Berlin Academy in January, 1922, by the veteran Egyptologist Professor Erman, and by the *Recueil d'études égyptologiques*, a voluminous collection (pp. 788) of fifteen studies, dedicated to the memory of Champollion.

*F. H. H.*

Of the flood of literature occasioned by the Cambridge Conference of Modern Churchmen, the present writer has seen nothing more directly to the point than the article by the Bishop of Ontario in *The Hibbert Journal* for April, 1922, on "Modernist Christology and the Plain Man." A somewhat belated quotation may not be unwelcomed. "In short, it is not the language and the philosophy of the Creeds about which he" (the plain man) "is concerned, but the ideas and beliefs which they enshrine. He is suspicious of change, because he believes, rightly or wrongly, that it is not really the language or the philosophy which is the real root of the objection, but the beliefs themselves. As he desires that these beliefs should be preserved, he is quite satisfied with the Creeds as they stand." Briefly, the subject originates in the study and interest in it is confined to the technical student, it does not extend to the "man in the street," whose shaken faith the Modernists propose to support.

Those who have found a difficulty in grasping the cause of the rift that appeared between the positions of the Modern Churchmen on the one side, and of Drs. Lake and Foakes-Jackson on the other, will find a clear and valuable statement of the difference in the underlying philosophy and in the method in Canon Quick's recent Paddock Lectures, "Liberalism, Modernism, and Tradition." *F. H. H.*

## REVIEWS

*Prophecy and Religion.* By John Skinner. Cambridge University Press, 1922,  
pp. 357.

Dr. Skinner studies prophecy and religion in the light of the life of Jeremiah. The book contains a series of lectures delivered in New College, Edinburgh, in 1920, and in addition nine chapters to fill out the picture of Jeremiah. There is much in this volume which is not new, but there is no lack of stimulation. In the introduction Dr. Skinner treats of the place of prophecy in the religion of Israel, emphasising the peculiar relationship between Israel and her god—a relationship between a personal Being and a national entity. Many interesting chapters follow, for example, "Predestination and Vocation," "The Prophet as Moral Analyst," "Prophetic Inspiration," "The Way of Life and the Way of Death." In these and other chapters the author has many illuminating things to say about the discovery of individual fellowship with God and its clue to Jeremiah's own spiritual biography. He shows how the discovery of the fact came to Jeremiah through the stern discipline of his life, through long travail of soul, and through much contact with the world of men, and how the prophet's life was from the very first guided by the spirit of God.

In speaking of the document found in the reign of Josiah by Hilkiah, Skinner seems to incline to the theory that the kernel of the book was composed by an adherent of the prophetic party, and concealed in the temple until an opportunity presented itself to put the reform in force. This is reasonable. But that is more than can be said of his belief that Jeremiah's insight into the nature of religion makes it inconceivable that he could not have any real sympathy with the Deuteronomic reform, for one of the most striking things about Jeremiah's teaching is its close similarity to the point of view of the Deuteronomist. Indeed, Jeremiah's

understanding of the law was far more closely allied to that of Deuteronomy than was that of Jesus' to Paul's, referred to on p. 107. Jeremiah did not repudiate the spirit of the law as found in Deuteronomy, but he did emphasise the spirit of prophecy and of individual moral responsibility, and therein was no inconsistency.

In his chapter on Prophetic Inspiration, Skinner has many interesting things to say, although the discussion lacks much in psychological insight. He says that Jeremiah's objection to "false" prophecy is threefold, namely, first, the false prophets are men of immoral life, secondly, the teaching of these prophets corresponds to their character, and, thirdly, these prophets were either deluded or dishonest. But that does not define "false" prophecy. However, his treatment of the Future of Religion as seen in Jeremiah is splendid.

Skinner's book is packed with the evidence of careful thought and high scholarship. His exegetical notes are exceedingly sane, and his many translations show a great mastery of the Hebrew text.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

*Old Testament History.* By Frank K. Sanders. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922, pp. 158. \$1.25.

Messrs. Scribner's Sons have placed Biblical students under still another debt of gratitude by the beginning of a new series of religious books in which the Bible will be fully represented. The series is called "Life and Religion Series," and the first volume, *Old Testament History*, lies before me.

This Old Testament History claims to make four specific contributions to the science of Old Testament study: First, its analytical outline of history; secondly, its assembling, section by section, of all the actual historical material discussed; thirdly, its emphasis on essentials; and fourthly, its brief compass. It wisely begins at the beginning, namely, with the Pre-Mosaic period and conducts the reader, in a fascinating way, through to the end of

the Maccabean period, to 63 B.C. Then follow a series of appendices on Old Testament History by its natural periods, General reference literature for further study, Reference literature for each study, Questions for review, and finally, subjects for research and class discussion. There are no new facts here revealed, but the author has contributed to the study of the Old Testament by writing a really helpful little book for the important study of Old Testament History. I take pleasure in recommending it highly. I have noticed only one slip, namely, "63 A.D." for "63 B.C." on page 131.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

*The Septuagint and Jewish Worship. A Study in Origins.* By H. St. John Thackeray. The Schweich Lectures, 1920. London: Humphrey Milford, 1922, pp. 143. \$2.00.

There is a peculiar fitness in the dedication of the present book to Dr. H. B. Swete for, since his death, there is no one so well fitted to deal with the subject as Dr. Thackeray. The nature of the work makes necessary the treatment of a few subjects in great detail which limitations of space forbid us to follow. Four things of value are brought out: (1) an elucidation of Old Testament teachings on certain points; (2) a clarifying of practice in late Jewish customs of liturgical usage; (3) illuminative comments on the text of the Hebrew and Greek versions; (4) fresh light on the origin and analysis of the Book of Baruch. In greater particular, the origin of the Septuagint "Books of Reigns," our Samuel and Kings, of Jeremiah, and of Ezekiel, is treated at considerable length. Dr. Thackeray seems to make out his theory of a division of the work of translation most clearly in the case of Jeremiah. Lectures II and III deal with the lections for the Feasts of Pentecost and of Tabernacles and for the Fast of the Ninth Ab. In four appendices the author gives analyses of the books mentioned above, which support his theory of division of work among the translators. The book will be found a helpful guide for those who wish to study some details

of the development of the Septuagint, and in its treatment of particular feasts and fasts will be of interest to a larger circle.

F. H. HALLOCK

*Le Livre des Actes*, Vol. III of an *Introduction au Nouveau Testament*. By Maurice Goguel. Paris, Leroux, 1922, pp. 376. Frs. 6.

This new volume of the Bibliotheque Historique des Religions will be the third volume of an Introduction to the New Testament, of which the two first volumes (on the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel) have not yet reached us. There will be altogether five volumes, all by the same author, who is professor of New Testament at the Protestant Divinity School of Paris. The aim of the book is to give a clear idea of the various problems bearing on the Acts of the Apostles, a task by no means easy. The author knows the bibliography thoroughly, but it is quite evident that he is not prevented by theories from seeing facts as they are; the second half of the book, some 170 pages, is given to an excellent critical analysis of the story of the Apostles as written in the Acts, and after all, that is, as it should be, the basis of the conclusion. Any one reading the book will constantly compare it with that of Loisy on the same subject. Like Loisy's book it is very clear, but it is far more unbiased and sounder. Professor Goguel finds in the Acts no special theological conception, and no apologetic tendency, thus disentangling himself of preconceived notions which spoiled the work of many previous students. He rejects the Blass theory which unduly magnified the value of the text represented by D and E. He finds that the story of the Acts is independent from the Epistles and from Josephus, although both the author of Acts and Josephus used a common source for the story of Theudas, and perhaps in other places. He finds like Cadbury that the argument on the medical language of Luke the physician is unfounded in fact. The *we* sections belonged to the Lucan book of the Acts, where they were found side by side with sections written in the third person. This Lucan document was taken by a redactor, the author *ad Theo-*

*philum*, who abridged it in several places and combined it with traditions of lesser value. Then an awkward interpolator mutilated the redactor's preface in order to bring in the story of the Ascension, which differs, by the way, from Luke's. Perhaps that interpolator, rather than the redactor, would be responsible for the insertion of the duplicate traditions just mentioned. The book was composed between 80 and 90 A.D. The place of composition is unknown. Professor Goguel is to be congratulated for this excellent study of the Acts. It achieves its object, it is clear. It is written in limpid style. The author has no axe to grind and apparently no theory that *must* be proved. No doubt his Introduction to the NT when finished will be of the highest synthetic value.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

*Mithraism and Christianity: A Study in Comparative Religion.* By L. Patterson. Cambridge: University Press, 1921, pp. xi + 102. 6/-.

A useful monograph, based upon thorough and careful study of the sources, and surveying the two religions in their chief and characteristic features as well as superficial likenesses and differences. The book is popular enough in style to be recommended as an antidote—sound and historical in method—for the fictitious sketches of Christian origins, common today, which trace the leading elements in our religion back to "the mystery cults." At the same time the student will find, especially in the footnotes, full references to and often quotations from the sources. The volume belongs on the same shelf with Cumont, as a supplemental study to his great researches.

Patterson accepts Dieterich's *Mithrasliturgie*, in spite of Cumont and Toutain. "A careful examination of the text shows many traces of Mithraic terminology and doctrine." It is only by a stretch of the imagination that Mithra can be called "a Suffering Savior," nor was he virgin-born, nor risen from the dead. "Mithra is, from first to last, a nature-deity, and his attributes, as God of light and Mediator, are rooted in nature-myths." St.

Paul's indebtedness to Mithraism is only the slightest, if it exists at all. "Both as a strict Jew, and afterwards as a Christian, St. Paul would be irreconcilably opposed to any heathen rites and practices." No more is Christ's teaching influenced by Mithraism, even indirectly, though Patterson uses the Fourth Gospel as a source of equal authority with the Synoptics.

"What then were the causes of the strength and vitality of Mithraism? It was, in itself, a pure and manly religion. It encouraged a life of action, it inculcated a love of truth and righteousness, and by hard discipline it trained men for the fight against evil" (p. 90). But its fatal weakness lay in its facile assimilations with other cults. "Mithra, chameleon-like, became equal to Shamash, Mēn, Sabazius, Attis, Helios. . . . What, therefore, it gained in extension and many-sidedness, it lost in intensity and definiteness. It was bound then to succumb to a religion that would brook no rivals and would grant no concessions."

It is one of Patterson's advantages that he possesses an intimate and sympathetic understanding of Judaism and early Christianity; he is therefore spared many pages of the extravagant theorizing which has brought Comparative Religion into disrepute as a science.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*The Legacy of Greece.* Essays by Gilbert Murray, W. R. Inge, J. Burnet, Sir T. L. Heath, D'Arcy W. Thompson, Charles Singer, R. W. Livingstone, A. Toynbee, A. E. Zimmern, Percy Gardner, Sir Reginald Blomfield; Edited by R. W. Livingstone. Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1921, pp. xii + 424. 7/6.

The interest of this volume for the theologian is not confined to the essays on *Religion* (by Dean Inge) and *Philosophy* (by Professor Burnet), but extends throughout the whole collection. No thoughtful religious man can contemplate without concern the rift which has developed between the ethics of Christianity, its philosophy, its interpretation of human life—the history and destiny, the very nature of man and the goals of civilization—

and those of popular "scientific" (so-called) materialism. In its broadest aspects this struggle is not between modern science and historical Catholicism, but between anarchy and civilization. For civilization, in the ultimate analysis, and so far as we are able to define it in the light of history, is the product of that spiritual view of man and of nature which flowered in early Egypt and Attica and Palestine and then spread over Europe hand in hand with ancient and mediaeval Catholicism. As Inge says, "The Christian Church was the last great creative achievement of the classical culture. [By 'the Church' he means the developed Catholicism of the fourth and fifth centuries, just as More does in *The Religion of Plato*.] It is neither Asiatic nor mediaeval in its essential character. It is not Asiatic; Christianity is the least Oriental of all the great religions" (p. 30). The crucial struggle of our times is between this ancient and inherited tradition of intellectual, spiritual culture, and the smug, self-secure, non-idealistic materialism of modern life. Religion, education, art, politics, all reflect the progress of the contest; and if the scholar inside the Church fails to recognize it, we are at least certain that the man outside sees it clearly.

"Quite logically the new spirit is in revolt against what it calls intellectualism, which means the application of the dry light of reason to the problems of human life. It wishes to substitute for reason what some of its philosophers call instinct, but which should rather be called sentiment and emotion. There is no reconciliation between this view of life and Hellenism. For science is the eldest and dearest child of the Greek spirit. One of the great battles of the future will be between science and its enemies. The misologists have numbers on their side; but 'Nature,' whom all the Greeks honoured and trusted, will be justified in her children" (p. 38f).

It is well, then, to survey the factors in our legacy from Greece, in addition to our inheritance from Palestine and elsewhere. It will not only help us to see in clearer perspective the growth of historic Christianity, the history of the arts and the sciences, but will aid us in recognizing the issues of the present struggle. For it is no longer a "warfare of science and theology," but a greater one in which religion and culture alike are assaulted by forces which once seemed tame and subdued but have broken out afresh

in anarchistic revolt. Perhaps their subjugation was only apparent and formal; perhaps theology, and the philosophy of life expressed in Catholicism, were not wholly adequate representations of the true meaning of Christianity; perhaps beyond the revolt and anarchy of our times lies a peace more glorious than the past; perhaps the ascetical, world-renouncing *éthos* of historical Christianity is the *exaggeration* of a spiritual interpretation of human life, itself responsible in some measure for the revolt, and requiring to be supplemented by a world-accepting, social emphasis before either real justice is done to primitive Christianity or its highest creative powers are liberated for the "healing of the nations." At any rate, a survey of this kind, pointing out our heritage from classical civilization in the various fields of human interest, is most valuable at the present time. It supplies the student, if he has not lost interest in twentieth-century problems through his devotion to those of the fifth or first, with materials for serious and courageous thinking. The range of one lifetime is so narrow, the progress of mankind is so slow, that to answer the question "Whither?" (as it is asked of Religion and Church and Education today) he must first trace the long pathway that leads up—or down—from the past.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*Pneuma Hagion: Der Ursprung des Geistbegriffs der synoptischen Evangelien aus der griechischen Mystik.* By Hans Leisegang. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922, pp. vi + 150. \$1.92.

This is Publication No. 4 of the Research Institute for Comparative Religion at the University of Leipzig. Its conclusions are sufficiently described in the sub-title. A wealth of learning, gathered from all corners of Hellenistic literature and archaeology, adds variety to its pages and weight to its arguments. But the preconceptions with which the book begins steadily and severely hamper the investigation. Christianity was only an oriental cult, introduced into the Hellenistic world by Paul (who unfortunately for himself soon fell irrevocably under the spell of Greek mysticism), and requiring, for its success, a regular

Redeemer-god myth—which was speedily provided by framing the words of Jesus in an appropriate if conventional drama of supernatural birth, baptism, miracles, passion, and resurrection.

Like Volz (*Geist Gottes*, 1910), the author credits much of this Hellenizing of the gospel, and especially the insertion of the Hellenistic conception of *pneuma* within the very core of primitive Christian tradition, to the writer of Luke and Acts. "Luke is intimately familiar with the popular Greek view of pneuma as the gift of ecstatic speaking. He knew the activities of the Spirit in the Hellenistic churches. He is, however, far removed on one hand from the philosophical-religious speculation which a Philo and a John unite with the conception; and, on the other hand, he had little understanding of the Pauline reinterpretation of the pneumatic and its significance for the development of the new Christian-Hellenistic ethics. . . . It is the Greek spirit which has thus been introduced into the primitive Christian gospel" (p. 141).

The nativity narrative is really founded upon the old Greek motif of a divine begetting in the human soul—common enough in all the varied forms of myth, inspired prophecy, mystery cult, and religious speculation. Such a story as Luke's account of the Virgin Birth (Mary's conception by the *pneuma*) was required in order to accredit the belief in the eyes of the Hellenistic Christian churches and satisfy the demands of their mystical piety.—This, the least improbable of Leisegang's theories, suffers from the fact that a divine begetting within the soul (described by Philo, Plutarch, and other mystics) is not the same thing as the virgin birth of a human being of flesh and blood. More closely parallel would be the old myths of immortals born of human mothers, through the agency of some god—in which, however, the Spirit had no place.

Leisegang admits that this *Hellenisierungsprozess* must have started very early, for the Greek spirit had already thoroughly penetrated nascent Christianity before Paul began his work (p. 143). *How early does this mean?* Five or ten or even twenty

years is scarcely time enough for a vigorous Jewish sect to free itself from the association of inherited religious ideas and clad itself in the mantle of a Hellenistic mystery cult. Yet this is what some of our historians of early Christianity are assuming constantly. It is unfortunate that the author did not look for parallels closer home, *i.e.*, in the world of Jewish religious thought and feeling contemporary to the writers of the gospels and their sources.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*Jesus and the End of the World.* By Clayton R. Bowen. Quarterly Bulletin of the Meadville Theological School, January, 1922, pp. 26.

Professor Bowen gives in this paper a clear, succinct summary of the "eschatological" interpretation of the gospels. "Every consideration makes it absolutely certain that the conviction: Jesus is Messiah, goes back to his own lifetime, goes back to himself" (p. 13). However, the conviction did not dawn suddenly, but "grew, slowly, tentatively," and was always "something *expectativ*"—it "did not lend itself to proclamation." He was to die and thus enter into his glory: "he does not suffer as Messiah, but attains the Messiahship by way of suffering." And "it must never be forgotten that Jesus did not at any point accept Messiahship as exaltation alone; he accepted it only when it had already come to include the prelude of the passion."

The author points out some of the religious values involved in this interpretation—which is one of the tasks before scholars of our generation, now that "eschatology" has become fairly dominant in the study of Christian origins.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*The Carpenter and His Kingdom.* By Alexander Irvine. New York: Scribners, 1922, pp. ix + 247.

Written in a journalistic style, without the necessary preparation or equipment of technical historical research, and filled with a sentimental, noisy type of socialism, the book makes no con-

tribution to our knowledge either of the Carpenter or of his Kingdom. It is inspired with a profound sympathy for the poor and oppressed, with a genuine social passion; but for this very reason its zeal without knowledge becomes all the more dangerous and misleading.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*The New Testament Today.* By Ernest F. Scott. New York: Macmillan, 1921, pp. 92. \$1.00.

One lays down this little book with the reflection that the modern view of the NT—as the product of its time, the surviving historical and literary documents of first-century Christianity, the comprehensive and unedited, unharmonized collection of the church's earliest writings, the *magna charta* of liberty and progress in Christian thinking—is potentially much closer akin to the belief in its inspiration than any view men have hitherto held. How came such books to be written, or such a collection to be made, or preserved, and then left unaltered and unrevised by later orthodoxy? This question alone suggests reflections which lead one to recognize something extraordinary in the history of our NT.

Professor Scott has divided his subject into four parts, each of which form a chapter in the book: The Right of the NT, The Modern Interpretation, The NT as a Product of its Time, The NT in the Modern World.

It is a book to place in the hands of intelligent and thoughtful laymen, especially those inheriting evangelical traditions and troubled by the "attacks of higher criticism." And not a few clergy may profit by reading it.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*The Children's Bible: Selections from the Old and New Testaments.* Translated and arranged by Henry A. Sherman and Charles Foster Kent. New York: Scribner's, 1922, pp. xxviii + 329. \$3.50.

As far as the writer is aware, this is the best Child's Bible ever published. The selections are well chosen, the translations

clear and in good English, the illustrations (chiefly by W. L. Taylor and Herbert Moore) magnificent, the typography beyond reproach. The old-fashioned "Bible stories," told in the words of their author, were often too unctuous or too saccharine, and related indiscriminately such tales of horror as the Slaughter of the Innocents or Elisha and the Bears. This book treats the Bible as literature, literature which needs only to be translated into language which children can understand to draw them within the charmed circle of its appeal. It is thoroughly to be recommended. Children "brought up on" it at home will be prepared to receive the greatest benefit from Religious Education courses at Church or Weekday School; familiarity with it may even make up for poor instruction at school, and sooner or later lead the child to desire acquaintance with the Bible as a whole, its history, its background, and the long process of spiritual evolution which brought it gradually into existence.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity.* By Kirsopp Lake. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. x + 113. \$1.25.

This is a reprint of Lake's Oberlin Lectures (1919), and affords a convenient summary of the author's views upon some of the outstanding problems of Christian origins. Those who have not ventured upon the *Prolegomena to Acts* will welcome this restatement of "some of the conclusions reached in that book, in a less technical form and with more attention to their bearing on some of the larger questions of religion and thought." One chief merit of the work is Professor Lake's constant recognition of the religious and intellectual needs of the present; he is always a realist, whether as a historian or as an interpreter of the meaning of history for the religion of the present. We think him in error upon certain essential points—e.g., the Messianic consciousness of Jesus—but the lectures are refreshing and invigorating. Of particular interest is the treatment of Adoptionist Christology at Rome, especially as evidenced in Hermas.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*The Proposal of Jesus* (Alexander Robertson Lectures at the University of Glasgow). By John A. Hutton. New York: Doran, 1921, pp. 186. \$1.50.

"The thesis which underlies these studies is that Jesus had a definite solution—which he offered in firm and precise language such as the leaders of his day in Church and State came to understand very clearly—for the actual situation, a situation which he perceived, unless a totally new temper came over his own people, would end in tragic and inevitable disaster. His proposal was rejected; and the disaster which he foresaw overtook his country in the sack of Jerusalem in the year 70" (p. 33).

We are so thoroughly accustomed to the theological view of the necessity of the death of Christ, and to the historical fact of his rejection, that we do not often enough consider what would have been the effect of his acceptance by the Jewish nation. Dr. Hutton's point of view is refreshing, at least as a restatement of the question. But we wish that he had developed the answer in more detail and with less homiletic digression. Granted that our Lord at least *began* his ministry with the expectation that his message would be accepted (historically, no other assumption is possible), what would the realized Kingdom of God have been like, what would have been the course of his own career, what the form of Jewish national life, or the careers of the disciples, or the further extension of the Gospel to the world outside Palestine? It is a highly speculative line of research. But if Jesus had "a definite solution, which he offered in firm and precise language," it ought to be possible to answer these questions.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*New Testament History*. By G. W. Wade. New York: Dutton, 1922, pp. x + 690. \$7.

A Compendium of New Testament Studies is the title that would best describe this book. It contains twelve pages on the "Topography of Palestine," fifty on "Political and Religious Developments among the Jews from the Exile to the Fall of Jerusalem," twenty-five on the "Roman Empire," fifteen on "Jewish Institutions," sixteen on "Prevailing Ideas and Methods of Jew-

ish Historians," twenty-five on "Textual Criticism," a hundred and ninety-three on "Documentary Criticism," a hundred and forty on the "Ministry of Jesus," a hundred and six on the "History of the Church in the Apostolic Age," eighty-four on "Theological Development in the New Testament" and ten Maps and Plans. On disputed matters, the author gives a summary of the evidence but indicates that his own verdict would not usually be on the "traditional" side. The sentence on page 378 "It is probable that the explanation of Our Lord's cures of bodily illnesses and diseases is to be found in the reaction of the minds of the sufferers to the emotional stimulus proceeding from Him, followed by physical effects consequent upon the mental relief" is perhaps an attempt to make miracles easier for the modern mind, but an explanation which is made out of three unexplained phenomena is a help to the modern mind only because that mind is so much at the mercy of phrases. However, whether we accept or reject Dr. Wade's theories and explanations, his book supplies more up-to-date information on the New Testament than any other single volume that we know.

A. HAIRE FORSTER

*Matter and Spirit. A study of mind and body in their relation to the spiritual life.* By J. B. Pratt. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. ix + 232. \$1.50.

A novelist recently made a collection of the adjectives which reviewers apply to books. His list did not include "comforting." This word in its old meaning may be used for Dr. Pratt's six lectures, for the solution of the mind-body problem at which he arrives is the one which the "plain" man, the *idiotes* as St. Paul calls him, generally adopts if he reflects on the subject at all. Of the four possible relations of body and mind—Interaction, Materialism, Parallelism and Idealistic Parallelism—Dr. Pratt decides for Interaction after reducing the other solutions to absurdity or confusion. And Interaction requires Dualism and Dualism is the philosophy of St. Paul. This is shown in the last chapter on "The Consequences of Dualism in Morality and Religion."

Incidentally the book is a reminder that there is no escape from metaphysics, that, as some one has said, "the only alternative to metaphysics is bad metaphysics."

A. HAIRE FORSTER

*Christian Justice.* By N. L. Robinson. New York: Doran, 1922, pp. 256.  
\$2 net.

This book is an attempt to correct current conceptions of Justice by a return to the more social and personal conceptions of Plato and St. Paul. "It is the outcome of the conviction that the sentiment of justice and the Christian faith have never yet fairly come to terms." The argument is well arranged and well maintained and the indictment of the modern legal system is complete. The chapters on "Justice in the Teaching of Jesus," "Justice and the Cross," "Justice and Punishment" are especially good. It is certainly remarkable that those who condemn the Church as "antiquated and ineffective" do not as a rule seem to have noticed that the Law falls far more truly under the same condemnation. "Justice" may now be depicted as blindfolded not because it is impartial but because it is stupid; it should only be "satisfied" when the criminal has become just and yet recidivists are the most notorious product of the present system. The author illustrates his thesis by Galsworthy's play *Justice*; he might have added Anatole France's tale *The Majesty of Justice*, and his frequent emphasis on the fact that justice should be marked by the recognition of fellowship might be enforced by the root meaning of the word itself—that which binds. The last chapter "By way of application" is hardly equal to the rest of the book: the statement that the policy of Christian justice after the war would undoubtedly have been "no annexations and no indemnities" seems to be an example of the fallacy of accident for the Germans had already taken indemnities from the occupied territories and a teacher who acted according to the principles of the section entitled "Justice in Education" would in some schools require the armor of a baseball umpire.

A. HAIRE FORSTER

*Jesus of Nazareth.* By G. A. Barton. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. xviii + 396. \$2.

This is a volume of the "Great Leader Series," a series intended primarily for High School students. In the first part, "Things to be known beforehand," the author makes good use of his thorough knowledge of Palestine, the rest of the book is a paraphrase of the Gospels using the scheme of Briggs' "New Light on the Life of Jesus." After reading "Jesus, with his unerring vision for ethical reality,"—"Poor, ardent, self-confident, unstable Peter!"—"This terrible punishment (scourging) the sensitive Jesus now suffered," it is a relief to return to the eloquent restraint of the Evangelists: adjectives sometimes diminish rather than increase an effect and there is much to be said for Dean Swift's suggestion that we should always skip a sentence that ends with a note of exclamation. The author is in favor of the theory that Judas Iscariot was not a complete traitor but was trying to create a situation in which Jesus must show his power as Messiah; he is inclined to identify the "Beloved disciple" with Lazarus.

A. HAIRE FORSTER

*In the Footsteps of the Master.* Sermon Outlines on St. Mark's Gospel. By J. H. B. Masterman. New York: Macmillan (S. P. C. K.), pp. 125. \$1.

Each of these outlines is about one page in length so that the book contains material for a hundred and four sermons. Here is a summary of the outline on Mk. 16:6: (1) The Eternal Quest—Today men are still seeking Jesus of Nazareth. (2) The Quest that failed—It is not among the dead things of the past that we shall find him. (3) The Quest that would not fail—They were to return to familiar places and the ordinary duties of life. And there they would see him again.

A. HAIRE FORSTER

*The Approach to the New Testament.* The Hibbert Lectures. By James Moffatt. New York: Doran, 1921, pp. 236. \$3.

*The New Testament.* Parallel Edition. A New Translation. By James Moffatt. Together with the Authorized Version and an Introduction to New Testament Study. New York: Doran, 1922, pp. xliii + 633. \$2.50 net.

The first of these books was placed among the five best books of the previous year in the issue of last May, the second contains an excellent introduction on the origin of the N. T. Books with a short account and criticism of versions up to the R. V. On page xxviii of this part tempter seems to be a misprint for temper. The two books together would give anyone a good knowledge of the New Testament as it is understood today for Dr. Moffatt's translation especially in the Pauline Epistles is of more value than many commentaries. He reveals his nationality by calling the learned King—James the *sixth*.

A. HAIRE FORSTER

*The Influence of the Church on Modern Problems.* Papers by various writers read at the Church Congress (Baltimore) in 1922. New York: Macmillan, pp. viii + 223. \$1.50.

Most of these addresses have already appeared in various Church papers, but many readers will be glad to have them collected in a single volume. The titles show that those who drew up the program for the Congress were determined not to be behind the times—"What are our young people seeking in their apparent revolt from the moral standards of an earlier day?"—"Credal Requirements and Church Reunion."—"The Second Coming of Christ. The Significance of Current Expectation."—"Psychoanalysis: Its value and its dangers."—"Wherein is the Church concerned with Labor's demand for continuous employment?"—"How can we best meet young men's hesitancy to enter the Ministry?"—"The necessary guidance of the present revival of interest in prayer."

The papers are of a high quality—with a few exceptions. A speaker for example who talks of the *detestable* Gallio does not create confidence in his judgment.

A. HAIRE FORSTER

## BOOKS RECEIVED

### NEW TESTAMENT

*Jesus of Nazareth.* By G. A. Barton. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. xvii + 396. \$2.

*Christ and Colosse or The Gospel of the Fulness.* By H. H. Gowen. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1922, pp. 127. 3/6.

*Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians.* I Corinthians. By J. S. Riggs. II Corinthians. By H. L. Reed. The Bible for Home and School. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 314. \$1.60.

*The Kingdom of Heaven* (Fernley Lectures). By H. Maldwyn Hughes. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1922, pp. 188.

*The Early Days of Christianity.* By F. C. Grant. New York: Abingdon Press, 1922, pp. 319. \$1.50.

*The New Testament. Parallel Edition.* A New Translation. By James Moffatt. Together with the Authorized Version and an Introduction to New Testament Study. New York: Doran, 1922, pp. xliv + 633. \$2.50 net.

### THEOLOGY

*The Idea of God.* By C. A. Beckwith. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. xiii + 343. \$2.50.

*The Moral Life and Religion.* By J. Ten Broeke. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 244. \$2.

*Liberalism, Modernism, and Tradition.* The Bishop Paddock Lectures, 1922. By O. C. Quick. New York: Longmans, pp. vii + 151. \$2.50 net.

*Belief in Christ.* By Charles Gore. New York: Scribner's, 1922, pp. x + 329. \$2.25.

*The Christian Doctrine of Peace.* Edited by James Hastings. New York: Scribner's, 1922, pp. ix + 300. \$4.

*A Grammar of Belief.* Modern Inquiry Series. By C. L. Dibble. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1922, pp. x + 208. \$1.

### SERMONS AND HOMILETICS

*Preaching as a Fine Art.* By R. Cotton Smith. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. xvi + 46. 75 cents.

*The Victory over Victory.* By J. A. Hutton. New York: Doran, 1922, pp. x + 261. \$1.75 net.

*In the Footsteps of the Master.* Sermon Outlines on St. Mark's Gospel. By J. H. B. Masterman. New York: Macmillan (S. P. C. K.), 1922, pp. 125. \$1.

## MISCELLANEOUS

*Confessions of an Old Priest.* By S. D. McConnell. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 124. \$1.25.

*Prayers for Private and Family Use.* By C. L. Slattery. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 181. \$1.

*Great Penitents.* By H. F. Blunt. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 245. \$1.

*Saint Jeanne D'Arc.* By Menna C. Smith. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. viii + 373. \$2.25.

*How I Lost my Job as a Preacher.* By J. D. M. Buckner. Aurora, Nebraska, pp. 63. 50 cents.

*The Subject Index to Periodicals, 1920.* Theology and Philosophy. London: The Library Association, 33 Bloomsbury Square. 6/- net.

*The Religion of Science.* By W. H. Wood. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. x + 173. \$1.50.

*Unity and Rome.* By E. S. Middleton. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. xiii + 269. \$1.75.

*Matter and Spirit.* By J. B. Pratt. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. ix + 232. \$1.50.

*Our Beloved Dead.* By S. C. Hughson. New York: Holy Cross Press, 1922, pp. 21. 4 cents.

*Walter de Gray.* Archbishop of York (1215-1255). By The Most Rev. H. Lowther Clarke. New York: Macmillan (S. P. C. K.), 1922, pp. 32. 6d.

*The Monastic Chronicler and the Early School of St. Albans.* By Claude Jenkins. New York: Macmillan (S. P. C. K.), 1922, pp. 98.

*Storm and Sunshine in South Africa.* By A. T. Wrigman. New York: Longmans, 1922, pp. xiv + 338. \$2.60 net.

*A Neglected Era From the Old Testament to the New.* By Edith R. Braley. New York: Dutton, 1922, pp. 280. \$2.

*The Influence of the Church on Modern Problems.* Papers by various writers read at the Church Congress (Baltimore) in 1922. New York: Macmillan, pp. viii + 223. \$1.50.

*The Religion of the Primitives.* By Monsignor A. Le Roy. Translated from the French by N. Thompson. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. x + 334. \$2.50.

*Life and Letters of W. J. Birkbeck.* By His Wife. With a preface by Viscount Halifax. New York: Longmans, 1922, pp. xiii + 390. \$5.

*Man and the Cosmos.* By J. A. Leighton. New York: Appleton, 1922, pp. 578. \$4.50.

*The Literature of the Old Testament in its Historical Development.* By J. A. Bewer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1922, pp. 452. \$5 net.

*Yellow Butterflies.* By M. R. S. Andrews. New York: Scribner's, 1922, pp. 73. 75 cents.

*A More Honorable Man.* By A. S. Roche. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 290. \$2.

*The Living Church Annual.* The Churchman's Year Book and American Church Almanac, 1923. Milwaukee: Morehouse, pp. 618. \$1.25 cloth.

*The Return of Christendom.* By various writers. With introductions by Bishop Gore and Bishop Brent and an Epilogue by G. K. Chesterton. New York: Macmillan, pp. xx + 252. \$1.75.

*A Study of "Monarchical" Tendencies in the United States, from 1776-1801.* By Louise Burnham Dunbar. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. X, No. 1. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1922, pp. 164. \$2.25.

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